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The Responsibilities of World Citizenship*

By J. C. Easton

As this second and greatest of world wars draws to a close, the case for and against isolationism becomes of paramount importance for Americans. While it is to my mind an undoubted fact that there is a great deal more sentiment in this country now in favor of our joining an international organization than there was in 1920, when the electorate gave such a dramatic rebuke to Woodrow Wilson and his plans for world peace, yet there is still a large portion of our public, especially as one travels toward the Middle West, that looks on the current blueprints for world organization with considerable suspicion, to say no more, and is at heart opposed to our entering any such body.

I would like to begin my talk by considering the attitude of these people, and analyzing it briefly. In the first place let me say at once that I have a good deal of sympathy for their viewpoint—in fact, I might almost go so far as to say that it is inevitable that an American should have a good deal of isolationist sentiment clinging to him—it is almost instinctive with him as a part of our long tradition of freedom and independence. I might also add that most of the emotional factors in the case are in favor of isolationism. I, too, as much as anyone else, wish that it might be possible for us to remain safe on our side of the ocean, working out our destiny unmolested, as we have in the past.

The record of the United States from this standpoint is unique in history. Our industrial and economic achievement has been the wonder and admiration of the world for

* A paper read before the West Virginia Historical Society at the annual meeting in Charleston on November 18.

a half-century or more. In fact, it has been so much greater than that of any other country, that for a generation or so it has been fairly safe, when talking of a good many basic products of industry, whether it be automobiles, or railroads, or telephones, or radios, or corn, or oil, or coal, to say that the United States produces as much as all the rest of the world. And this is not just because we have a half-continent to draw from our wealth. Other nations have half-continents and more. Russia has half of two continents at her disposal, to a total of nearly nine million square miles, or not far from three times our area. The British have nearly four times our area, the Chinese a third more, and the Canadians and Brazilians considerably more too. No, I think we must give ourselves credit for an energy and an ability in these fields superior to theirs, in fact, superior to anything that has so far been seen in history. They have potential resources far exceeding ours, but we have dug ours out of the ground and made them available to our people to a far greater extent than they.

Then in the matter of our relations with other nations, our record is unique. Every time I look at the map of the Western Hemisphere I am amazed at the fact that the United States *does* only occupy half a continent (and actually not quite that). It is all very well to speak of our treatment of Mexico and of our seizure of California and the Southwest: I know that these are blemishes on our record. But does anyone have any doubt that any other nation would have shown the moderation we have shown even in these cases? Is there any other nation on earth that would not have conquered all of Mexico, so tempting with its vast mineral resources, as well as the rest of Latin America, and perhaps Canada as well, all of which was within the realm of possibility, at least until the present century? I think not. The unique three-thousand-mile-frontier between ourselves and Canada has been too much dilated on for me to dwell on it here, but it is not out of place to

reiterate once more that it *is* unique. And neither will it do to argue that we had enough land and needed nothing more than to develop what we had. Economics is not the motive that has ruled the nations of Europe, but Power. The more they have, the more they want. History shows that there is no limit to their appetites and ambitions. We are again unique in resisting that temptation, in being satisfied with what we have, in minding our own business.

Then, again, in the matter of charity to other nations we are unique. Was there ever a nation that has been called on so often and so insatiably to give money, food, and supplies to other nations, to bind up their wounds, to save them from plague and famine, to exercise in every practical way the virtue of brotherly love? Again I doubt it. I have often felt that this would make a most valuable subject for research, and I believe that here again we would find that the comparison I mentioned above, that we equal all the rest of the world put together, would hold good once more.

And so the United States is the prime example of a nation that has done superlatively well through her own efforts, one that has interfered far less than others in their affairs, and one that asks only to be left alone. Why, then, is isolationism not the solution to our problem? The answer is not far to seek. To repeat a famous epigram of Thomas Huxley, it is a case of a perfectly beautiful theory murdered by a brutal fact. It is that the rest of the world will not permit us to be alone. It is the airplane at four-hundred miles per hour and its bombs, it is the submarines, the buzz-bomb traveling with the speed of sound—and even as I wrote this the radio was telling of a new and more formidable flying bomb that the Germans are developing to cross the ocean and destroy our cities before we are even aware of it. I need not tell you that this is the age of fantastic impossibilities come true. Would that it were not so! I don't have to tell you that things were much more comfortable and far less dangerous back in the days before the Industrial Revolution began to de-

velop these ghastly engines of destruction. But what can we do? We cannot reverse the processes of history. The march of invention is ceaseless and irresistible. It has annihilated time and space. This is indeed, in the words of the late Wendell Willkie, One World. That is why to hold to isolationism would be a catastrophic procedure. We must join this new organization of the United Nations for the simple and fundamental purpose of self-preservation. We must become World Citizens.

If we accept this basic and to my mind unanswerable argument, we must accept certain corollaries that go with it, I mean certain responsibilities that go with World Citizenship. Most important of all, we must study and understand the lessons of history, and accept certain inevitable historical conclusions. The conclusions to which I wish to devote the rest of my paper have to do mainly with two nations: the one that is our principal enemy in this conflict, Germany, and the one that may become our principal friend and ally after this war, Russia. Our attitude toward these two nations will have much to do with the question whether, in the words of a prominent columnist, we are to have a New World, or a New World War. My thesis will be that our attitude toward these two nations has been largely erroneous in both cases, leading many of us to an unwarranted feeling of good will toward the former and an equally unwarranted feeling of ill will toward the latter. Let us consider these matters.

Perhaps the first test of national ability and character is political achievement. Let us see what history teaches us as to the respective accomplishment of these two nations in this field. The first political problem of the nations of Europe was unification. How do these two countries fare from that standpoint? You are perhaps familiar with the pattern of unification as applied to the map of Europe: the countries at the extremities of Europe, both East and West, solved their internal problems and achieved unity early, whereas, those in the center did not do so until very

late in history. England and France in the West, and Russia and the Scandinavian countries in the East, got rid of feudalism and their basic social and religious troubles by the seventeenth century, achieving a practical and on the whole beneficial unification under their kings. On the other hand the countries in the center of Europe—Italy, Germany, and Poland—did not do so until 1861, 1871 and 1919, respectively. You will perhaps jump to the conclusion that the reason for this poor showing is the geographical location of these nations encircled as they are by hostile powers. In the case of Germany, however, this conclusion will not hold, seeing that on the Eastern frontier at least, the invasions came from Germans more than they did from Slavs. The case of the Teutonic Knights springs to mind, who as early as the thirteenth century conquered and ruthlessly subjugated the Baltic areas now occupied by Lithuania and Latvia. Neither is the argument valid that their internal problems were more arduous and complex than those of the others. All the nations of Europe started from scratch at the time of the Barbarian Invasions, the so-called Migration of Nations of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. This was the melting pot of Europe, out of which the modern European nations emerged. They all had the same basic political, religious, social and economic problems, with only minor variations. The English, French and Russians organized under their rulers into fairly sensible, reasonable units following a certain logical pattern. The best the Germans could do was to create the Holy Roman Empire, an aggregation of some three-hundred independent and bickering states, the laughing-stock of Europe, that Voltaire rightly criticized as neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. To add to the irony of the situation, the first effective blow for their unity was not struck by a German leader, but by their most inveterate enemy, Napoleon, who, unable to endure any longer the ramshackle patchwork condition of the German nation, abolished at a blow some

one-hundred states, thus taking the first step toward the later unification of Bismarck.

In other words, some countries solved their most pressing political and internal problems, and others did not. To what can this difference be attributed? Personally, I hold to the doctrine of Historical Responsibility and am firmly convinced that the clue is to be found in this matter of political competence. England, France and Russia are politically competent. Germany is not. Far from being the Master Race that Hitler proclaims her to be, Germany has proved over and over again that she is politically the most incompetent of all the European nations. Until we firmly grasp this fact, we will not be able to approach the German problem with the realism that it requires.

The next point I wish to make has to do with German culture. I think most of us are inclined to be impressed with German culture, German literature and German music—especially those of us who have a certain amount of German blood in our veins, as is the case with me. I was brought up on these subjects, in fact knew them quite thoroughly before I became really acquainted with English. And I can say with confidence that, except for music, German culture is inferior both to the English and to the French, and possibly to the Russian as well. In music, as everyone knows, Germany leads the world, in fact it may be said that ninety per cent of the world's great music is German. Please note, however, that music is the most emotional and irrational of the arts, which may be significant for the understanding of the German character, especially the Nazi character. In the matter of philosophy, Germany does rank high, but please note that in this subject a dichotomy arose which seems to suggest what the psychologists call "schizophrenia."—"split personality," as is intimated in Emil Ludwig's book, *The Germans — Double History of a Nation,* with which some of you may be acquainted. German philosophy diverged along two opposed lines, the individualistic, and the absolutist, Im-

manuel Kant being the champion of the former, and Hegel of the latter, Kant standing for the freedom of the individual, Hegel for the supremacy of the State. Unfortunately for Germany and the world, the Hegelian philosophy prevailed, and Germany from that time on has leaned more and more heavily toward the enslavement of the individual by the State, and of the spirit by a false ideology. Other thinkers who have done Germany an infinite amount of harm are Nietzsche, Treitschke, and Wagner, Nietzsche with his doctrine of the "superman" and the *Blonde Beast,* Treitschke with his *Germany in the 19th Century,* which exalted everything Prussian and derided everything non-Prussian, and Wagner with his music-drama *The Ring of the Nibelung* and his exaltation of Siegfried as the Teutonic hero. Incidentally, no country has given birth to so many men who have exerted a harmful influence on humanity as Germany. It seems almost as though an evil genius had pursued them, culminating in the development of their racial theories, which they adopted from a Frenchman and a Britisher rejected by their own people. Add to these characteristics a lack of humor and balance, a bent toward hysteria and barbarity culminating in the present Nazi regime, but prevalent throughout her history, and we have a situation which to my mind excludes Germany from any right among the society of nations, certainly from a position among the great powers. According to the doctrine of Historical Responsibility, the right to nationality is not inherent, but something that has to be earned, and certainly Germany can in no sense be said to have done so.

The second great responsibility of world citizenship, as I see it, is to understand and sympathize with our great allies, Great Britain and the British Empire, France, Russia and China. In the case of the first two, the job is more than half done; the same can almost be said in the case of China. Russia is the main problem, for the emotions of the American people are decidedly mixed in their

attitude toward this nation. I doubt if there is any really adverse feeling toward China anywhere in this country, but this cannot be said in the case of Russia, where the feelings of the people at large are violently stirred one way or the other. I would like to say a few words in favor of this great ally of ours.

In the first place there are several analogies between the history of Russia and our own that should help to stir a fellow-feeling toward her. Russia under the present regime is a young nation and as an industrial country it is also young, the Industrial Revolution not having reached her, last of the great powers, until comparatively late in the nineteenth century. Actually, as we all know, the industrialization of Russia on anything approaching an American scale did not occur until the inception of the Five-Year Plan in 1928, so that one of the striking facts about Russia is her youth, just as it is with us. She is a young, lusty, vigorous nation at the beginning of her career, with an area nearly three times ours, and unlimited natural resources.

Secondly, the territorial expansion of Russia has followed lines very similar to ours and to our frontier experience. Russia at the end of the sixteenth century began to pioneer eastward across the vast expanse of Siberia toward the Pacific, just as we pioneered westward toward the same ocean. We both had similar experiences in this trek to the sea, subduing sparse savage or semi-savage tribes on a lower cultural level, and assimilating their land. Both of us took over a huge territory, half a continent in one case, half of two continents in the other.

The latter fact may well usher in my next point about Russia, the fact that she represents a bridge to the Orient. The U. S. S. R., occupying as she does the eastern half of Europe and the northern half of Asia, is well fitted to play the role of liaison agent or connecting link between the two civilizations of the West and the Far East. Racially, too, the Slavs, of which the Russians are the major branch,

are part European and part Asiatic, especially since the Tatar domination of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. However, it is important to remember that culturally and psychologically, the Russians are turned westward toward Europe and away from Asia, and have been ever since the mighty efforts of Peter the Great in that direction. There is little danger, in my opinion, of their joining hands with the Chinese and other Orientals in a mass attack on western civilization, as I have heard some persons maintain. The Russians are culturally European, not Asiatic. As for the Chinese themselves, I see in them not a danger, but a great hope—not a potential enemy, but a present and permanent friend, just as I do the Russians.

Now as to the culture of Russia, too many of us are inclined to think that it is a barbarous and inferior one, not to be compared with that of the other European nations. Such is not the case. It is true that Russia was late in developing her culture, largely because of the oppression of the Romanov dynasty, which misgoverned that country for three centuries before the recent revolution. But during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, she burst into a cultural activity, especially along literary, musical and scientific lines, that is equalled by few other nations. The names of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Turgeniev and Dostoyesvsky in literature. Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Stravinsky and Shostakovich in music, of Pavlov and Metchnikoff in science, place Russia on an exalted plane in these fields.

Finally, in closing, I will merely touch on the political and socio-economic aspects of the Russian problem, as I expect that they are well known to this learned audience. Russia is not "communist." As Bernard Pares, the leading British authority on Russia, puts it, Russia is ruled by the Communist Party without the use of communism. As you no doubt know, a significant struggle took place between Stalin and Trotsky between 1924 and 1927, after the death of Lenin, Trotsky advocating full communism and World Revolution, Stalin a limited type of Socialism,

and strict nationalism. Stalin won the struggle, which should diminish our fear of any attempt at world revolution on Russia's part, and in 1938 the Comintern—the Communist Internationale—the organization charged with executing this world revolution, was completely abolished and its leader, Zinoviev, liquidated. Since the initiation of the Five-Year Plans in 1928, the Soviet government has increasingly resorted to capitalistic practices such as piecework and wage-differentials of all kinds based on achievement. While in the ultimate analysis the government of course has the final control, small-scale business does exist under individual management. The Russian system, as Walter Duranty has said, is merely a form of State Capitalism.

You are probably also aware of the fact that Russian Socialism contains many elements of democracy especially as compared with Nazism. In this connection, let me quote from Ambassador Davies's great book, *Mission to Moscow,* with which most of you are no doubt familiar:

> Germany and Soviet Russia are totalitarian states. Both are realistic. Both are strong and ruthless in their methods. There is one distinction, however, that is as clear as black and white. It can be simply illustrated. If Marx, Lenin, or Stalin had been firmly grounded in the Christian faith, either Catholic or Protestant, and if by reason of that fact this communistic experiment in Russia had been projected upon that basis, it would probably be declared to be one of the greatest efforts of Christian altruism in history to translate the ideals of brotherhood and charity as preached in the gospel of Christ into a government by men. The point is that the Christian religion could be imposed upon the communistic principles without doing violence to its economic and political purposes, the primary one of which is based upon "the brotherhood of men." Applying the same test to Nazism, the difference between the two states is clear. The principles of the Christian religion cannot be imposed upon the Nazi philosophy, without destroying the political base of the state. Nazi philosophy makes the state superior to the Christian religion and is in fact a religion in itself. For that end it has tried to destroy Christianity in Germany

through persecutions. The Nazi philosophy creates a government which is in fact based upon the denial of the altruistic principles of the Christian religion. The Nazi state is deified. To it, war is a virtue. Brotherly love, charity, justice and Christian virtues are indications of weakness and decadence if they conflict with the utilitarian needs of the State. The state is the church and the confessional. Force, power, might, as the expression of a Nordic and racial religion, are the base of the Nazi ideology. To impose the Christian religion upon Nazism would be impossible. They are utterly antithetical. That is the difference—the communistic Soviet state could function with the Christian religion in its basic purpose to serve the brotherhood of man. It would be impossible for the Nazi state to do so. The communistic ideal is that the state may evaporate and be no longer necessary as man advances into a perfect brotherhood. The Nazi ideal is the exact opposite—that the State is the supreme end of all.

And again:

While a dictatorship exists here, it appears to differ from a Fascist dictatorship, at least in one respect. Dictatorship over the proletariat is not the objective or end this system professes to seek, as is the case with Fascist ideology. The fact of dictatorship is apologized for here. It is justified on the ground that it is a realistic expedient, resorted to only to protect the masses of the people, until they can themselves rule under a system where ideologically the individual and not the state shall be supreme. Moreover, there is no doubt of the present sincerity of this regime in its desire to maintain peace . . . In my opinion, there is no danger from Communism here, so far as the United States is concerned. To maintain its existence, the Soviet government has to continue to apply capitalistic principles. Otherwise it will fail and be overthrown. That will not be permitted by the men presently in power, if they can avoid it. I expect to see this government, while professing devotion to Communism, move constantly more to the right, in practice, just as it has for the past eight years. If it maintains itself, it may evolve into a type of Fabian socialism, with large industry in the hands of the state, with, however, the agricultural and smaller business and traders working under capitalistic property, and profit principles . . . The Bolshevik regime floundered on the verge of anarchy and chaos for ten years, but during the last ten years under the Five Year Plans a most extraordinary record of hydraulic, industrial, communication, social, educational and army development is quite apparent. It is undoubtedly due to the driving force

of Stalin. It has been characterized by a marked departure from the communistic principle in practice. The profit motive had to be resorted to in order to make the system work.

To sum up this somewhat lengthy and perhaps tedious discussion, the basic duties and responsibilities of the World Citizenship into which we are about to enter are in my opinion these: To distinguish clearly between our friends and our foes, and to deal kindly with the former, and firmly with the latter, instead of vice-versa, as too often the case during the past twenty-five years. Let us not confuse the two. Failure to realize this elementary fact is one of the underlying causes of this present war. We must hold firmly to the belief that suppression of Germany as a great power is essential to a permanent peace, and that the acceptance of Russia as a full partner with ourselves, the British Empire, China and France in the new world order, is no less essential. Let no one tell you that there have always been wars and therefore there always will be. The opposite will in fact be the truth: for if we believe, as most historians do, in the theory of cycles, then the longer the cycle of war continues, the closer it is to its end, and the nearer we arrive at what may well become a new and enduring era of peace and happiness for mankind.

The Press in the Making of West Virginia

By John Lewis Kiplinger

The Weeklies of West Virginia

From the time of Governor Berkeley's notorious stricture on free schools and printing, in 1671, Virginia tended to be backward in journalistic development.[1] It is believed to have been the only state imposing a tax on newspapers during the nineteenth century.[2] However the census of 1860 numbered fifteen dailies, five triweeklies, eleven biweeklies, 98 weeklies, and four monthlies. Total circulations were as follows: dailies, 44,400; triweeklies, 2,750; biweeklies, 21,212; weeklies, 189,360; monthlies, 43,900; whole number annually, 26,772,568.[3]

As for the populations of some of the western Virginia towns which supported one or two weeklies apiece, in 1860 the free residents were numbered as follows: Buckhannon, 427; Charleston, 1,200;[4] Clarksburg, 895; "Fairmount," 704; Grafton, 891; Middlebourne, 247; Martinsburg, 2,134; Morgantown, 741; Moundsville, 515; Parkersburg, 2,493; Point Pleasant, 519; and Weston, 820.[5]

Dr. James Morton Callahan is the authority for the following table of the newspaper business in western Virginia in 1860:[6]

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1 George Henry Payne, *History of Journalism in the United States* (New York, 1920), pp. 66-67.
2 James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), p. 275.
3 Joseph C. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census*, 1860 (Washington, 1862), pp. 211-13.
4 ". . . the pleasant little town of Charleston," Wheeling *Intelligencer* cited in *Kanawha Valley Star*, June 21, 1859.
5 Joseph C. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in* 1860 (Washington, 1864), pp. 218-20.
6 James Morton Callahan, *History of West Virginia Old and New* (Chicago, 1923), p. 313.

Counties	Name	Character	Kind	Circulation
Barbour	Barbour Jeffersonian	Democrat	Weekly	500
Berkeley	Republican	Democrat	Weekly	900
Berkeley	Gazette	Independent	Weekly	800
Brooke	Wellsburg Weekly Herald[7]	Republican	Weekly	800
Brooke	Millenium Harbinger[8]	Religious	Monthly	8,500
Brooke	Stylus	Literary	Monthly	600
Greenbrier	Era	Whig	Weekly	750
Greenbrier	Chronicle	Democrat	Weekly	600
Greenbrier	Independent	Whig	Weekly	460
Hampshire	Virginia Argus	_____	Weekly	800
Hampshire	South Branch Intelligencer	_____	Weekly	960
Hampshire	Piedmont Independent	_____	Weekly	600
Hardy	Hardy Whig	Whig	Weekly	600
Harrison	Cooper's Clarksburg Register	Democrat	Weekly	750
Jackson	Virginia Chronicle	Independent	Weekly	520
Jefferson	Free Press	Whig	Weekly	1,104
Jefferson	Spirit of Jefferson	Democrat	Weekly	900
Jefferson	Independent Democrat	Democrat	Weekly	600
Jefferson	Shepherdstown Register	Neutral	Weekly	400
Kanawha	Kanawha Republican	Whig	Weekly	1,200
Kanawha	Kanawha Valley Star	Democrat	Weekly	1,000
Lewis	Weston Herald	Democrat	Weekly	600
Marion	Methodist Protestant Sentinel	Religious	Weekly	750
Marion	Fairmont Free Virginian[9]	Democrat	Weekly	730
Mason	Republican	American	Weekly	750
Monongalia	Virginia Weekly Star	Democrat	Weekly	1,000
Morgan	Constitution	Democrat	Weekly	500
Ohio	Union	Democrat	Daily	900
Ohio	Union	Democrat	Triweekly	200
Ohio	Union	Democrat	Weekly	1,200
Ohio	Intelligencer	Republican	Daily	800
Ohio	Intelligencer	Republican	Triweekly	400
Ohio	Intelligencer	Republican	Weekly	1,600
Ohio	Virginia Staats Zeitung	Republican	Weekly	300
Ritchie	Democrat	Democrat	Weekly	540
Taylor	The Family Visitor	_____	Weekly	600
Taylor	Grafton Guardian	_____	Weekly	600
Taylor	Virginia Plain Dealer	Democrat	Weekly	400
Wayne	Ceredo Crescent	Agr. & Lit.	Weekly	600
Wood	Parkersburg News	Democrat	Weekly	800
Wood	Parkersburg Gazette	Whig	Weekly	650
Wood	Southern Methodist Itinerant	Religious	Weekly	1,200
Wood	Western Virginia Baptist	Religious	Weekly	800

In the summer of 1858 a Clarksburg publisher presented a specimen budget for a weekly, as part of an argument that country papers could not and should not have to compete in price with the "dollar weeklies" issued by metropolitan dailies.[10] His estimate of the yearly expenditures

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[7] November 28, 1856, name changed to The Wellsburg *Herald*.
[8] *Millennial Harbinger*.
[9] *True Virginian*.
[10] *Cooper's Clarksburg Register*, July 30, 1858.

of a weekly circulating 1,000 copies was $2,108. This sum included an allowance of $500 for the editor, and receipts from job printing and advertising were placed at only $10.00 a week,—a small figure, if any reasonable proportion of the patrons paid their accounts. However business methods in western printing offices were generally lax; many editors, like the luckless Wharton of Parkersburg, "when in business should have a guardian";[11] and Mark Twain's caricature of a haphazard printing office in "Huckleberry Finn" finds numerous war-time parallels.[12]

"The most important newspaper published in the trans-Allegheny before the Civil War"[13] was the *Kanawha Republican,* founded by Enos W. Newton at Charleston, in 1842. Newton, a Whig school teacher from Vermont, had for a time edited the *Gazette* in Wheeling.[14] The *Republican* played no very prominent part in the war, being located in a town where authority alternated between Union and Confederate commands. For a time Newton's paper was suppressed, and the venerable editor—"Father Newton" to his confreres—suffered persecution and hardships which left him marked and broken in editorial spirit.[15] Even during its periods of publication, the *Republican* was not received regularly in and about Wheeling,[16] and was seemingly bereft of any except local influence.

The other paper in Charleston, the *Kanawha Valley Star,* had been published at Buffalo, Putnam County, from 1855 to 1857, under the name of the *Star of the Kanawha Valley.*[17] Taken to Charleston by its publisher, John Rundle, it was there edited by a group of ten or more

[11] The Wellsburg *Herald,* January 30, 1863.

[12] See the *Daily Intelligencer,* July 8, 1861, for the comical story of how soldiers of the Twentieth Ohio Regiment supplanted the "secesh" editor of the Fairmont *True Virginian.* Newspaper reports would indicate that it was not uncommon for a delegation of soldier-printers to come in one door of a newspaper office while the editor "skedaddled" out the other.

[13] Charles Henry Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861.* (Chicago 1910), p. 282.

[14] *Daily Intelligencer,* February 1, 1860.

[15] *The Weekly Register* (Point Pleasant), March 6. 1862; *Daily Intelligencer,* April 18, 1863. Newton died in 1865, and the *Republican* came to an end six years later.—Callahan, *History of West Virginia Old and New,* p. 307.

[16] *Daily Intelligencer,* January 3, 1862; The Wellsburg *Herald,* July 3, 1863.

[17] A sketch of the history of the paper, with a list of the attorney-editors, is given on the inside cover of the volume of the *Kanawha Valley Star* for 1859-61, Department of Archives and History, Charleston, W. Va.

Democratic attorneys, whose perquisites of office may have included the numerous legal cards which they published in the columns of the paper. The *Star* took its cue from the Richmond *Enquirer,*[18] and by the spring of 1861 was calling for secession. The issue of May 28, in which the lead editorial was entitled, "Skies Bright and Brightening," dropped to a half-sheet, the paper continuing in that form. The last issue extant is that of July 2, 1861. The retreat of General Wise and the entry of Federal troops into Charleston caused the *Star* to fall, and the plant was subsequently confiscated.[19]

Other secession papers fared no better than Rundle's *Star*. The Weston *Herald* late in 1860 pronounced for "Southern rights and Southern independence," and appears to have died in May of 1861.[20] William P. Cooper, publisher of the *Register* in Clarksburg, abandoned the pen to take up the sword, under the stars and bars.[21] After the war he returned to Clarksburg and established *The Conservative*. "Tom" Surghnor of the Philippi *Jeffersonian* and W. F. Drinkard of the Fairmont *True Virginian* joined the Confederate army. The Parkersburg *News* was wrecked by a Union mob late in May of 1861, and its publisher, Charles Rhoads, subsequently conducted the Marietta *Republican,* a Vallandigham organ.[22]

Clarksburg was a town of embattled editors. Cooper has already been mentioned. On the Union side, Charles E. Ringler, who founded the *Western Virginia Guard* late in 1860, afterwards joined the army,[23] as did Robert S. Northcott, following his break with Senator Carlile in

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[18] *Kanawha Valley Star,* June 7, 1859.

[19] *Daily Intelligencer,* November 8, 1861. "The editor, who is now one of the ragged and bare-footed followers of the rebel John B. Floyd, proposed to run his type into bullets for the rebels; but before he could accomplish his purpose he was forced to run himself into the mountains."

[20] Roy Bird Cook, *Lewis County in the Civil War 1861-1865* (Charleston, 1924), pp. 35-37.

[21] Henry Haymond, *History of Harrison County* (Morgantown, 1910), p. 296.

[22] *Daily Intelligencer,* May 27, 1861; August 22, 1863. The Wellsburg *Herald* (quoted by the *Intelligencer,* June 1, 1861), remarked: "Violence in such cases we consider as altogether wrong as well as unnecessary."

[23] Haymond, *History of Harrison County,* p. 296.

August of 1862.[24] Under the heading, "Carlile as an Editor," the Wellsburg *Herald* gave the following noteworthy sketch of the *National Telegraph*:[25]

> Shortly after Carlile was elected to the U. S. Senate, the Clarksburg *Telegraph* was born, and shortly after he fell from grace, it died. During its short and not very glorious career, it contained generally on the outside a chapter of United States laws at so much per line, and frequently in the inside a column or so laudatory of *Honorable John S. Carlile.* This was the style of the honorable Senator's editorship. The ostensible editor of the paper, and probably partner in the ownership, a Mr. Northcott, a refugee Union man from Tennessee, appears to have been a man of principle and honesty, who was deceived by Carlile, as were a good many others, and doubtless during his career found the advocacy of his Senatorial partner an uphill business. When the grand explosion of indignation against Carlile commenced in Western Virginia, Mr. Northcott refused to write him up, and the consequence was a dissolution of partnership and a stoppage of the paper. It is intimated that Mr. Northcott is taking measures to carry on a paper in Clarksburg on his own account, and we shall probably then hear farther in regard to his quondam partner. The corps of country editors should unanimously expel Carlile from the fraternity, on the ground of incapacity for political honesty.

Another country paper gave a savage summary of the contents of Carlile's weekly in the following words:[26]

> We have examined the Clarksburg *Telegraph*, for the past few issues, and have made the following summary of its contents, for the benefit of those who may not see copies of it: 1st, An article in laudation of Senator Carlile; 2d, Denunciation of a class of men who do not worship Eastern Aristocracy, for whom the editor has coined a new word, "Abolitionists"; 3d, Same as 1st; 4th, Same as 2d; 5th, Same as 3d; 6th, Same as 4th; 7th, Same as 5th; 8th, Same as 6th; 9th, Same as 7th; and so on, *ad infinitum.*

However Carlile continued as editor until Northcott re-

[24] George W. Atkinson and A. M. Gibbens, *Prominent Men of West Virginia* (Wheeling, 1890), pp. 324-27, give a brief biography of R. S. Northcott, and outline the romantic course which led him to political editorship in a strange city, then to a military commission, to Libby Prison, and finally back to the town of his adoption as newspaper proprietor, postmaster, and mayor.

[25] The Wellsburg *Herald*, August 29, 1862.

[26] The Fairmont *National*, quoted in *Daily Intelligencer*, March 24, 1862. See also the *Intelligencer*, October 30, 1863.

turned from the war and purchased the paper and plant.

Pruntytown, near Grafton, was the location of a weekly which, with its editor, underwent a change of front not unlike that of Carlile and his *Telegraph*. The Pruntytown *Visitor*, under one Dan Morris, early in 1860 had opposed the Negro tax exemption law and other forms of discrimination against the west. Later Morris changed sides completely, and his journal leaned so far towards the South that it toppled over.[27]

A Union paper started at Grafton in March of 1861 was the *Western Virginian*, published by G. R. Latham and J. M. Scrogin.[28] It led a precarious border existence.

A strong Union organ appearing throughout the war years—except for a brief period when the plant was wrecked by Ed. Zane's raiders—was the Fairmont *National*, which had its inception late in 1861. It was politically "regular" and sought to profit thereby.[29]

The Morgantown *Western Virginia Star* derived its light from Marshall M. Dent, who conducted it in connection with the Monongalia County clerkship from 1856 until in January of 1862, when he gave up both his clerkship and his paper.[30] The next essay in Morgantown journalism was also Democratic, and bore the title, *West Virginia Herald*. The paper, which was edited by William P. Willey, son of Senator Willey, came out for the second time December 13, 1862, with "A Mississippi Story" as a prominent feature.[31] This sentimental tale of master-slave loyalty and affection had long knocked about among the exchanges, having appeared in print in Clarksburg nearly six years before.[32]

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[27] *Daily Intelligencer*, August 9, 11, 1860; April 10, 1861.
[28] *Daily Intelligencer*, March 26, June 1, 3, 1861.
[29] *Daily Intelligencer*, December 3, 1861. A letter to Senator Willey from John N. Boyd of the *National*, dated "Fairmont, *West* Va., Jan. 13, 1863," has as its key sentence the following: "I wish you would call on Montgomery Blair, P.M.G., and solicit for the *National* the publication of the Proposals for carrying the mails in West Va."—Waitman T. Willey papers.
[30] *The Intelligencer*, January 9, 1862, implied that Dent, a Democrat, had tried to build himself up politically, and that his foes had swamped him. Also the same paper of July 3, 15, 20, 1861.
[31] The West Virginia University Library has two copies of this issue.
[32] *Cooper's Clarksburg Register*, January 9, 1857.

The *Herald* was far from expressing the sentiments of Senator Willey, who was represented to the Wheeling *Intelligencer* as opposed to his son's participation in it.[33] The *Herald* was later transformed into the *Monitor,* still under the Willey editorship. The *Intelligencer* called it a "Copperhead sheet," asserting that its publication, "unchecked by the counter-publication of a loyal paper, is a burning shame to the Union men of the populous county of Monongalia."[34] In the spring of 1864 the *Monitor* went under, and its place was filled by the Morgantown *Post,* published by Henry M. Morgan.[35]

The nadir of Virginia journalism was reached late in 1861 and early in 1862. By the middle of December, 1861, out of 23 papers in the Valley all but seven were dead or in a trance, and but three of the seven had remained weeklies.[36] Among the suspended were the Charlestown *Spirit of Jefferson* and *Independent Democrat,* Shepherdstown *Register,* Martinsburg *American,* Berkeley Springs *Constitution,* and Romney *Intelligencer* and *Argus.* Not long after, another Charlestown paper, the *Virginia Free Press,* had its office wrecked and the type thrown into the street because of the editor's Union sympathies.[37]

The Wellsburg *Herald* of February 28, 1862, stated that Virginia then had only seven dailies, most of them much curtailed in size. The *Herald* continued:

> In West Virginia, so far as our information extends, we have, commencing with the Panhandle (consulting not so

[33] *Daily Intelligencer,* December 9, 11, 1862.

[34] *Daily Intelligencer,* September 25, 1863, which contained a citation from the *Monitor* indicating that the feeling was mutual.

The Willey family opposed Archibald Campbell's candidacy for the United States senatorship, for which office the Wheeling editor received twenty-seven votes in the Legislature. The Willey papers for 1863 include a revealing note, signed "Bunker" and dated only "Wednesday 9 P. M." though evidently written from Wheeling just before the naming of West Virginia's first senators, in August of 1863. The letter reads in part:

"Dear Sir:

"I have been afraid to communicate with you thro the mails here, fearing my letter would be opened. [Campbell was postmaster at Wheeling] . . . Please tell William for me to fire no more shots at Campbell from the "Monitor" at present—We will attend to Mr. Campbell here, it may do injury—I trust William will take my advice kindly—He ought not to do anything that would injure you . . ."

[35] The Wellsburg *Herald,* April 8, 1864.

[36] Staunton *Spectator* of December 17, 1861, cited in *Daily Intelligencer,* January 4, 1862.

[37] *Daily Intelligencer,* March 20, 1862.

> much modesty as convenience) the Wellsburg Herald, the Wheeling Intelligencer, the Wheeling Press, both daily, tri-weekly and weekly, the Fairmont National, the Grafton Virginian, (an occasional) the Clarksburg Telegraph, the Parkersburg Gazette, the Tyler County Plaindealer, the Kanawha Republican, and the Ritchie County Democrat, making ten in all—two dailies, the balance weeklies of more or less vitality. The same territory before the rebellion, sustained probably double as many double as well. . . .

The Middlebourne *Plaindealer* was a vigorously edited paper, and received frequent notice in the *Intelligencer*.[38] The Harrisville *Ritchie Democrat,* founded by Enoch G. Day in 1856, in 1862 was sold to Daniel F. Shriver, of Ohio, who renamed it *The Press.* When General Jones and a detachment of Confederate cavalry raided Harrisville in May of 1863 they paid a visit to *The Press,* pieing the forms and scattering cases of type about the office. After failing to meet the payments on his office, Shriver removed to Weston and there published the *West Virginia State Journal* for a few months in 1864, after which he went to Chillicothe.[39]

Following the demolition of the Parkersburg *News* in May of 1861, that city was served by the *Gazette,* published by James E. Wharton, formerly of the Wheeling *Times* and Brooklyn *Transcript.* Though an able editor, Wharton was no hand at business, and the *Gazette* folded up in January of 1863.[40] In the summer of 1862, S. D. Gordon had started a short-lived Democratic paper, the *West Virginian.*[41]

Probably the ablest war-time weekly in western Virginia was the Wellsburg *Herald.* This old establishment had been purchased in 1848 by John G. Jacob and James A. Smith. The latter left the business ten years later, but Jacob continued to edit the *Herald* throughout the war

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[38] *Idem,* November 30, 1860; April 10, 1861; December 11, 1863.
[39] Callahan, *History of West Virginia Old and New,* p. 307; Minnie Kendall Lowther, *History of Ritchie County* (Wheeling, 1911), pp. 452-53.
[40] The Wellsburg *Herald,* January 30, 1863. Joseph Odell, from Kentucky, resuscitated the paper for a time.
[41] *The Weekly Register* (Point Pleasant), June 26, 1862; *Daily Intelligencer,* June 12, 1862.

and for years thereafter, coming to be known as the "Nestor of the Press" in the Panhandle.[42] Campbell of the *Intelligencer* greatly admired Jacob and his paper, and advised the people of Brooke County to elect the editor to the Legislature.[43]

George W. Tippett's Point Pleasant *Register* began publication in March of 1862. The truculence of many of its editorials and contributions[44] finally brought about a tragedy. During the political campaign of 1862, John Hall, who had presided over the constitutional convention, and his friends were subjected to bitter *Register* attacks written by Lewis Wetzel. Hall, enraged, shot and killed the journalist.[45] He was subsequently adjudged guilty of involuntary manslaughter, and fined $4,000 and costs.[46]

Whatever actual relation the weeklies may have borne to the public opinion of western Virginia, the *Intelligencer* placed a high estimate on their services. In the course of an appeal for the support of Union papers, Campbell's paper testified:[47]

> Look what the good influence of such papers as the Fairmont *National*, the Parkersburg *Gazette*, the Ritchie *Press*, the Point Pleasant *Register*, the Middlebourne *Plaindealer*, the Kanawha *Republican*, and last, but by no means least, the excellent Wellsburg *Herald* has been. What would have become of West Virginia without these papers? We have no desire to speculate what West Virginia would have been had these papers been as zealously against the Union as they have been against the rebellion.

THE WHEELING PAPERS

For two generations before the Civil War, Wheeling had been a gateway to the old West. It had pioneered in

[42] J. H. Newton, G. G. Nichols, and A. G. Sprankle, *History of the Pan-Handle* (Wheeling, 1879), p. 329.
[43] *Daily Intelligencer*, November 4, 1861.
[44] *The Weekly Register*, June 19, 1862, *et passim*.
[45] *Daily Intelligencer*, October 24, 25 1862 Wetzel had joined with James Hutchinson in founding *The Independent Republican* at Point Pleasant in 1854, and they had continued the paper until 1859, when they sold it to T. Stribbling & Company.—Callahan, *History of West Virginia Old and New*, p. 309.
[46] *The Weekly Register*, March 24, 1864.
[47] *Daily Intelligencer*, December 11, 1863.

manufacturing and river commerce; the first of the *steamboats,* floating on the water rather than in it, was built there in 1816.[48] By 1860 Wheeling was the second city of Virginia, and with its suburbs[49] had a white population of 17,176, three-fourths as great as that of Richmond, which was 23,635.[50]

Daily journalism in the Panhandle city dated back at least to 1842,[51] and files of the Wheeling *Tri-Weekly Gazette* and the Wheeling *Tri-Weekly Times and Advertiser* date from 1839 and 1838, respectively.[52] *The Argus,* a pro-slavery Democrat organ, was appearing as a weekly in 1840,[53] started a semiweekly edition two years later, and by the spring of 1846 was published every afternoon. However by the close of the decade of the "forties," leadership in Wheeling journalism resided in James E. Wharton's Whig morning paper, the *Times and Advertiser,* which boasted:[54]

> We have now, and we refer to the editors of the Pittsburgh Gazette for proof, receipts from them for an hundred dollars for merely reporting. . . . In all instances we have ordered the fullest reports, and we have paid more for telegraphing than the Argus has for labor in the same length of time; having on one or two occasions paid as high as fifty and sixty dollars to the telegraph office in one week.
>
> Our arrangements are now to receive all that goes West of Pittsburgh, taking the full Cincinnati reports. . . .

The presidential campaign of General Scott was the occasion of the birth of the famous *Intelligencer,* which was brought out by E. B. Swearingen and Oliver I. Taylor, August 24, 1852. The political editorship was undertaken by J. H. Pendleton, whose sympathy for slavery and the

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[48] Charles Henry Ambler, *A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley* (Glendale, Cal., 1932), pp. 125, 138.
[49] South Wheeling, Fulton, and Triadelphia.
[50] Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860,* pp. 516-21.
[51] The Ohio County Library, Wheeling, has a clipping from the Wheeling *Daily Gazette* of August 9, 1842, which bears the number 41.
[52] Where not otherwise stated, data bearing upon early Wheeling papers are derived from Ohio County Library files.
[53] *Daily Intelligencer,* June 19, 1862.
[54] Wheeling *Times and Advertiser* (daily), March 9, 1848.

South[55] combined with the pressure of events to convert him to the Democracy.[56]

In 1856 A. W. Campbell became a member of the *Intelligencer* staff, and in October of that year he joined with John F. McDermot, who had been printing Alexander Campbell's *Millennial Harbinger* at Bethany, in purchasing the paper. During the years that followed, McDermot centered his attention on the mechanical and business phases of the property. His partner's subsequent emergence as West Virginia's greatest journalist justifies more particular attention being given him.[57]

Archibald W. Campbell, Jr., was born April 4, 1833, at Steubenville, Ohio, where his father, a brother of Alexander Campbell, was engaged in the practice of medicine. The family soon removed to West Middletown, Washington County, Pennsylvania, and in 1849, to Bethany. Young "Archie," as he came to be known, was graduated from Bethany College in 1852. Later he studied law at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York.[58] Liberal educational influences combined with his heritage of earnestness and independence to prepare Campbell for a type of leadership rare among Virginians: he threw in his fortunes with the new radical party, then rallying to the slogan of 1848, "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men."

The news that "Campbell & M'Dermot" would publish a Republican paper called forth the prediction that within six months their press would be in the Ohio River. The *Intelligencer* survived, but lean years followed.[59]

At this time necessity united with sound business judg-

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[55] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer* (the style of the paper until November 12, 1859, when the nameplate was changed to *Daily Intelligencer*), July 28, 1855.

[56] *Idem*, October 8, 1856.

[57] Sketches of the life of Archibald Campbell occur in *The West Virginia Encyclopedia* (Charleston, 1929), p. 120; Atkinson and Gibbens, *Prominent Men of West Virginia*, pp. 507-13; same article in Gibson L. Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley* (Madison, 1890), vol. 1, pp. 241-46. The last-named work also contains a sketch of the editor's father, vol. 1, pp. 568-69. An article by Granville Davisson Hall is given by William P. Willey, *An Inside View of the Formation of the State of West Virginia*, pp. 202-06.

[58] It has been stated that during his period of study in New York, Campbell had as a teacher William H. Seward, the free-soil champion. At this time Seward was in the Senate. The author has failed to locate any confirmation of his contact with the future editor.

[59] Granville Davisson Hall, *The Rending of Virginia* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 584-85.

ment in introducing modern attitudes and methods into Wheeling newspaperdom. Newspaper publishing was not paying, and Campbell's paper remarked, in connection with a criticism of the circulation and advertising credit system then in vogue:[60]

> The *Times*, for instance, has had numerous proprietors, none of whom, so far as we have any history or tradition concerning the establishment, have come out of it financially sound.

The merger of four old Boston journals elicited the comment, "The idea is now . . . to have a few good papers rather than a great many indifferent ones."[61] And when the first number of the Steubenville *Visitor* came to hand, the *Intelligencer* made the observation—borne out by events—that three papers, "even for that enterprising little city, is about two too many."[62]

In November of 1857 the *Intelligencer* dropped from seven to six shortened columns, and let out its entire city circulation to a Wheeling news dealer, at the same time instituting the modern pay-by-the-week system. However, even in straitened circumstances Campbell's paper was eminently a purveyor of news and advertising, rather than a political organ. At the outset of its career under the new management it contained the following jibe at the Democratic paper:[63]

> The Argus on flush mail days is quite a readable paper, generally containing the latest leader of the Richmond Enquirer, together with the happiest hits of the Washington Union and the Pennsylvanian.

Its own attitude was implicit in the subsequent claim:[64]

> . . . previous to the days of the *Intelligencer* here local matters were considered as incompatible with the dignity that ought to characterize a Wheeling newspaper. . . .

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[60] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, April 24, 1857.
[61] *Idem*, April 8, 1857.
[62] *Idem*, April 11, 1857.
[63] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, October 16, 1856.
[64] *Daily Intelligencer*, March 11, 1863.

In November of 1859, Wheeling journalism underwent changes which were to determine its trend during the war years. At that time P. H. Moore & Co. purchased the *Argus* and merged it with the *Times,* which they had controlled since the preceding July. The amalgam appeared as *The Daily Union,* November 28, 1859.[65] Earlier in the month the *Intelligencer* had assumed a new "dress," coming out in seven narrower columns, with a new nameplate and blacker and more striking headlines. The body type was smaller, permitting a considerable increase in the amount of printed matter, and the general appearance of the paper was clearer and cleaner.

During the next four years the arrangement of the *Intelligencer* customarily was as follows: page one would contain two or three columns of literary or political material, usually rather extended excerpts from books, periodicals, or speeches. The first two or three columns of page two carried the editorials—then called after the British manner, "leaders." Column one of page three was the "local," and a full column or more of "telegraphic" reports occupied the same page. Little reading matter was to be found on page four, except the customary poem. Frequently an address, particularly a presidential message, would occupy most if not all of page one, and perhaps run over inside, for one day crowding out everything else but advertisements and the esteemed "local." During 1859 and 1860 advertisements ordinarily filled all but seven to nine of the twenty-eight columns. During the war, as advertising declined, reading matter came to occupy on the average twelve columns or more.

> About one man in ten in our city takes a daily; The daily circulation of each paper, upon an average being about 700.—Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* March 6, 1857.

Nine months later the *Intelligencer* was selling only two

[65] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* July 22, 1859; *Daily Intelligencer,* November 24, 29, 1859.

or three hundred copies of its daily edition,[66] although this meager circulation was not due solely to political causes, as the tone and appearance of other papers indicate that the panic of 1857 created a trying time for the whole journalistic profession.[67]

By the fall of 1859 the *Intelligencer* was able to take the offensive, noting in its exchanges reprints from and approbation of itself,[68] and complacently printing a contribution from White Sulphur Springs, the author of which had "nothing to say regarding its political character," but testified that, "as a *literary* and *news* paper it is gaining ground everywhere over the State."[69]

The use of printed address labels and mechanical addressers was introduced on the weekly *Intelligencer* in 1860, and extended to the mailing lists of the daily and triweekly in 1862.[70]

Meanwhile the *Union* continued on its Southern Democratic course, once incurring the following blast from the conservative Louisville *Journal*:[71]

> The Wheeling *Union* sneers at Mr. Lincoln for having delivered lectures for pay. How much less honorable is it to write and deliver lectures for pay than to scribble such newspaper articles as those of the Wheeling editor for pay?

The paper lived through the political campaign and on into the spring of 1861. However its advocacy of secession rendered impossible its continuance. Early in May of 1861 it gave up its telegraph news service,[72] and Phillip Henry Moore, the young editor, left Wheeling and went to Richmond following the vote on the secession ordinance, May 23.[73]

The next Democratic organ in Wheeling was *The Daily Press,* which got under way in July of 1861. The editors

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[66] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* December 4, 1857.
[67] Discussed in *Idem,* October 26, 1857.
[68] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* October 28, November 8, 1859.
[69] *Idem,* September 14, 1859.
[70] *Daily Intelligencer,* July 21, 1862.
[71] Cited in *Idem,* June 2, 1860.
[72] *Idem,* May 3, 1861.
[73] *Idem,* June 1, 15, 1861; also January 20, 21, 1865.

named in the masthead were A. S. Trowbridge[74] and F. E. Foster, and Trowbridge & Co., later Trowbridge & Downey published the paper from the office and type of the defunct *Union*. Af first the *Press* followed a conservative, strongly Unionist course, and quite evidently prospered. In February of 1862 it claimed an entire circulation of more than 2,600, asserting that in one week it had gained more than 500 subscribers.[75] Less than a month later the masthead claim had risen to 3,000 though the *Intelligencer* challenged that figure, asserting rather vaguely that its competitor's circulation was not half its own.[76]

Competition for the public printing was a cause of editorial acerbity between the two papers. The *Press* underbid Campbell & M'Dermot ten per cent for the work of the Restored Government of Virginia, later stating that this was the cause of the *Intelligencer's* accusation that the *Press* was disloyal.[77] Trowbridge & Downey, though lowest bidders, lost out on the printing for the constitutional convention,[78] and in 1863 the Legislature elected John F. McDermot public printer for a two-year term.[79]

The *Press* and *Intelligencer* drifted into an undignified controversy which won no laurels for the latter and brought out a rebellious streak in the former which was the death of it.[80] The Parkersburg *Gazette* cynically reported:[81]

> We find in a late number of the Wheeling *Press* the Wheeling *Intelligencer* named 63 times, abolitionism 61, the *Press* 43 and rebellion 3 times. Hurrah for the Union.

Through the spring and summer of 1862 the *Press* pursued a conservative policy similar to that of the Louisville

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[74] A. S. Trowbridge had founded the Romney *Virginia Argus* in 1850, selling it in 1857.—Callahan, *History of West Virginia Old and New*, p. 300.
[75] Wheeling *Daily Press* (before November 18, 1861, *The Daily Press*), February 21, 1862.
[76] *Daily Intelligencer*, March 11, 13, 1862.
[77] Wheeling *Daily Press*, July 1, August 22, 1862.
[78] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of West Virginia* (Wheeling, 1861), pp. 20-22.
[79] The Wellsburg *Herald*, January 23, 1863, which held that, "the whole affair of a Public Printer is a wrong and an imposition on the State."
[80] *e. g.*, *Daily Intelligencer*, January 21, 1862; also The Wellsburg *Herald*, October 31, 1862.
[81] Cited in *Daily Intelligencer*, October 14, 1862.

Journal, which it cited regularly,[82] assailing abolitionism but staunchly supporting the Union cause and arms. It asked to be supplied with copies of the proceedings of public meetings, complaining that the *Intelligencer* never extended the customary courtesy of providing proof sheets of such reports even when "the Wheeling papers" were requested to print them.[83] However the function of an opposition newspaper could not be exercised along a troubled border, and the strictures of the *Press* were promptly labeled treason.[84] Other papers assailed the *Press,*[85] which became financially dependent upon Henry Moore, a secessionist and father of the editor of the extinct *Union.*[86] Although Moore denied influencing the paper, the connection did it no good.[87]

Late in November of 1862 General Milroy forbade the circulation of the *Press* within the lines of his command. In announcing the order, the *Intelligencer* stated that, "I have been taking the *Press,* but it has got to be too much secesh for me," was the postscript to half of the subscription letters received and the remark of fully half of those subscribing at the office.[88] When the news of the passage of the new state bill was received at the Moundsville telegraph office, during the evening of December 10, celebrants planning to fire a cannon hunted up a load of Wheeling *Presses* for wadding.[89]

> Then, before the gun was fired, rousing cheers would go up for our new State, and bang would go the Wheeling *Press* accompanied with cheers for West Virginia and derision of the poor inanimate wadding.

The fact that the *Press* later followed the decision of a Democratic caucus in pronouncing for the new state[90] did not help it. Beginning in November it underwent changes

[82] Wheeling *Daily Press,* May 19, 21, 30, 31, June 6, July 25, 1862; *et passim.*
[83] *Idem,* May 19, June 10, 1862.
[84] The Wellsburg *Herald,* September 19, 1862; *Daily Intelligencer,* October 9, 1862.
[85] *Daily Intelligencer,* September 24, 27, 29, 1862.
[86] The poll book listed Henry Moore as being from Washington, Pa.
[87] *Daily Intelligencer,* October 28, 30, 31, 1862.
[88] *Idem,* December 2, 1862. A copy of the order, dated November 25, 1862, is included among the Campbell papers.
[89] *Idem,* December 13, 1862.
[90] *Idem,* December 16, 1862; February 9, 10, 1863.

in management and personnel which left the proprietorship in question and permitted its competitor to ascribe its editorship to Sam Medary of the Columbus *Crisis,* stated to be "the leader of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Ohio."[91] Although the parallel cited may have been due to copying, rather than a contribution from the Ohio editor, nevertheless Prentice of Louisville, who had no Republican axes to grind, referred to a secret organization of disloyalists in the North, and commented:[92]

> We could name several newspapers, which, beyond all question in our minds, are conducted under its influences and for the furtherance of its objects. These papers profess indeed to be loyal to the Union, for they are afraid of the swift retribution they know would follow an open exhibition of treason, but they diligently devote themselves to the selection and publication of such matter as they deem calculated to dispirit the friends of the Union and to encourage the rebels.

The Unionists of the Panhandle came to believe that something of the sort was true of the *Press,* which went into a decline and died in March of 1863. The *Intelligencer* wrote for it the philosophic epitaph, "In the midst of life we are in *debt*"[93]

For two or three weeks in December of 1862, Messrs. Hamilton and Silvey published a *Daily Observer,* which passed into the journalistic deep leaving scarcely a ripple.[94]

The Wellsburg *Herald* had remarked when the *Press* stopped:[95]

> The experiment of a Butternut newspaper in Wheeling has been tried often enough, we should think, to deter others from similar hopeless investments.

Nevertheless within four months the "experiment" was repeated. Lewis Baker, an Ohioan, bought out Henry Moore's plant, and *The Daily Register* appeared July 9,

[91] *Daily Intelligencer,* October 28, 1863; November 28, 1862.
[92] Louisville *Journal,* cited by *Idem,* November 3, 1862.
[93] *Idem,* March 25, 1863.
[94] *Idem,* December 25, 1862.
[95] The Wellsburg *Herald,* March 27, 1863.

1863, with a nameplate set in the same gothic type which had stood out on page one of the *Union* and the early numbers of the *Press*.[96] The paper was suspended from July to September of 1864, while Baker and his partner, O. S. Long, languished in military prison under orders of General Hunter, whom they had criticied. Following the resumption of the *Register*, J. G. Jacob asserted:[97]

> The butternuts in this vicinity, during last Court, took it voraciously and swarmed around the agents worse than graybacks on a rebel soldier. Men subscribed their money for it, who, to our knowledge, can neither read or write.

The *Register* lived, and lives yet (1935). In December of 1864 it changed its pages from six to seven columns, banishing advertisements from page one, which after the modern manner became the telegraph news page. The *Intelligencer*, more conservative in appearance, retained much of its prewar makeup and typography.

Out-of-State Journalistic Influences

The most permanently influential portion of a newspaper's offerings is not usually its comments on public affairs, but rather the daily pabulum of news and feature material which it contains. The intellectual appeal of Archibald Campbell's *Intelligencer* was to a reading public reverent towards classical culture, possessed of a world-wide viewpoint, and absorbingly interested in politics.

At a time when *Reynold's Newspaper*, a London radical weekly, was purchasable at Wheeling news depots,[98] the *Intelligencer* reader would be kept *au courant* with the views of John Bright and Richard Cobden, not alone on American affairs,[99] but also in regard to the progress of the

[96] *Daily Intelligencer*, July 10, 1863. A brief and not too accurate history of the *Register* is given by Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, vol. 1, p. 522; a better and fuller account occurs in Newton, Nichols, and Sprankle, *History of the Pan-Handle*, p. 226.

[97] The Wellsburg *Herald*, October 7, 1864.

[98] *Daily Intelligencer*, May 30, 1863.

[99] *Idem*, December 30, 1861, two columns; January 7, 1863, three columns of, "A Truly Great Speech from the Champion of the Working Man in England, John Bright on American Affairs"; also Wheeling *Weekly Intelligencer*, July 13, 1855.

democratic movement in England.[100] On occasion there might be a column or more on the history and influence of *The Times* of London,[101] which Lincoln in 1861 pronounced, "one of the greatest powers in the world; in fact I don't know anything which has more power, except perhaps the Mississippi."[102]

The careful newspaper reader of Wheeling was aware that the Manchester *Guardian* was—as it still is—"perhaps the most liberal, the ablest, and the most widely circulated provincial newspaper in England,"[103] while the editor of a Point Pleasant weekly was prepared to express contempt for the American policy of "that aristocratic sheet, the London *Morning Post.*"[104]

Nor was the *Intelligencer* in its wide awareness of men and events limtied to the Fourth Estate. Long extracts from an address by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton might grace the day intervening between "philosophy teaching by example" from the pages of Macaulay and Motley.[105]

In addition to its telegraph service, letters from army camps, and reprints from metropolitan papers, the *Intelligencer* ran long excerpts from the war correspondence of W. H. Russell, "the famous correspondent of the London *Times.*"[106] These letters, though crossing the Atlantic twice and thus detailing events a month or more in the past, were much favored by the Toronto *Globe* [107] and leading American papers.

There is no evidence to indicate that the smaller journals, such as the *Intelligencer,* obtained this foreign material directly, but rather most of it seems to have been re-reprinted from New York papers.[108] Obtained in this

[100] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* January 12, 1859.
[101] *Daily Intelligencer,* May 13, 1863.
[102] William Dodgson Bowman, *The Story of "The Times"* (New York, 1931), p. 17.
[103] *Daily Intelligencer,* April 15, 1861.
[104] *The Weekly Register,* April 24, 1862.
[105] *Daily Intelligencer,* October 23, 24, 25, 1861.
[106] *Idem,* June 17, 24, July 29, 31, August 12, 19, 23, 28, November 8, 1861.
[107] F. H. Underhill, "Canada's Relations with the Empire as Seen by the Toronto *Globe,* 1857-1867," *Canadian Historical Review,* vol. 10, no. 3 (June, 1929), pp. 108-09.
The *Globe* also received notice in the *Intelligencer,* November 6, December 10, 1862.
[108] The *Daily Intelligencer* of November 8, 1861, remarked that a column of Russell excerpts came from a letter which had filled five columns of the New York *Tribune.*

way, translations from French periodicals were also in vogue, and the *Intelligencer* quoted letters ascribed to Prince Napoleon, and editorials from the *Journal des Debats.*[109]

However the western Virginia press, particularly the weeklies, naturally made use of papers from the East and the Ohio Valley, rather than from abroad, for sources of news and opinion. New York was then, as it is now, the journalistic capital of the United States, and the great crusader of American newspaperdom was Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune.*

The influence and historical significance of the *Tribune,* particularly of its weekly edition, have become legendary.[110] In the spring of 1861 it claimed a total circulation for all editions of nearly 300,000, "while our habitual readers must considerably exceed One Million."[111] Amazing numbers of *Tribunes* went into the Northwest, Iowa taking 11,968, and Illinois, 16,477, while Pennsylvania contained 26,091 subscribers and Ohio, 24,900. However Greeley's paper circulated but slightly "south of the line." The border states of Missouri, Virginia, and Kentucky were listed with circulations of 744, 294, and 244, respectively. The Cotton South received not more than 250 *Tribunes,* these probably for the most part exchanges. A Texas sedition law rendered it a felony to receive the *Tribune;*[112] the postmaster at Lynchburg, Virginia, gave notice that it would no longer be distributed at that office;[113] and Greeley himself is stated to have been deterred from lecturing in Wheeling because of what he might say about the "peculiar institution."[114]

Yet the weekly *Tribune* was not without influence in western Virginia, and Granville Davisson Hall, who wrote down much of the primary source material for the history

[109] *Daily Intelligencer,* September 23, 26, October 23, November 1, 1861.
[110] Rhodes, "Newspapers as Historical Sources"; also *History of the United States from the Compromise of* 1850 (New York, 1896), vol. 2, pp. 71-72.
[111] "Twenty Years," an editorial including a tabulation of the circulation, New York *Daily Tribune,* April 10, 1861.
[112] New York *Tribune,* cited in *Daily Intelligencer,* August 1, 1860.
[113] *Idem,* December 13, 1859.
[114] Atkinson and Gibbens, *Prominent Men of West Virginia,* p. 507.

of "the rending of Virginia,"[115] was "raised on" the *Tribune,* along with the Washington *National Intelligencer.*[116]

No other New York paper exercised any considerable influence in the West through direct circulation. Bennett of the *Herald* possessed a wide notoriety,[117] but his whole policy was irresponsible, even in regard to advertising.[118] The *Times,* then a kind of *Tribune* without the crusading spirit which rendered Greeley's organ disturbing to many readers, was occasionally cited in western Virginia papers; likewise the *World* whose conservatism carried it into the Democratic camp during the course of the war.[119]

However the New York paper which Campbell considered the best posted on western Virginia affairs was Bryant's old *Evening Post.*[120] Of it the *Intelligencer* testified:[121]

> There is no better paper published in this, or any other country, that we know of, than the New York *Post.* Our appreciation of it is shown pretty clearly in the frequent extracts which we make from its columns. Of all the great journals of New York, it is, in our opinion, the most candid, exact and reliable, and it is surpassed by none of them for ability.
>
> We think our newsmen here in Wheeling, would do well to keep it on their shelves.[122]

Occasional reference was made to the Philadelphia papers, principally the *North American* and Colonel Forney's *Press,* which was noted for its intense patriotism.[123] Credit for strengthening the Union sentiment of western

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[115] James Morton Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia* (Charleston, 1913). Note to p. 141.

[116] Ethel Clark Lewis, "West Virginia's Oldest Statesman—Granville Davisson Hall," *"The West Virginia Review,* vol. 5, p. 57 (November, 1927). In regard to the *National Intelligencer,* see p. 30.

[117] *Daily Intelligencer,* December 22, 1859.

[118] William Grosvenor Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. 202 Campbell despised Bennett, as may be seen by the *Intelligencer* of March 9, 30, 1857; April 19, 1861.

[119] The best evaluation of New York and Eastern papers which the author has seen occurs in Allan Nevins' *American Press Opinion* (Boston, 1928), pp. vi, 109-18, *et passim.*

[120] *Daily Intelligencer,* April 19, 1861.

[121] *Idem,* February 14, 1860.

[122] The "newsmen here in Wheeling" have not as yet taken this excellent advice. The author trusts that another seventy-five years of distinguished journalistic achievement may win for the *Post* the right to be placed before Wheeling purchasers.

[123] Theodore F. Lang; *Loyal West Virginia from 1861 to 1865* (Baltimore, 1895), p. 144.

Virginia has been given to the Baltimore *American,*[124] termed by the *Intelligencer* the "leading journal" of its city.[125] A Baltimore paper of secession tendencies which attained a considerable circulation in the territory familiar to the editor of the Wellsburg *Herald* was the *Exchange,* subsequently renamed the *News Sheet,* and at the time of its suppression entitled the *Gazette.*[126]

Of the journal which might fittingly be called the "New York Times" of the pre-war period, Campbell wrote:[127]

> No paper in the land is doing such mighty service in the cause of the Union and the Constitution as the good old *National Intelligencer.*[128]

In the "valley of democracy" the cause of border Unionism was upheld by the two chief papers in St. Louis, B. Gratz Brown's Republican organ, the *Democrat,* and the Democratic *Republican.*[129] There is no evidence that the Pittsburgh dailies were significant factors in formulating opinion along the border.[130] The Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate* which appealed to Methodist consciences on the slavery issue, won the honor of being denied distribution from at least one postoffice, in Nicholas County. The *Western Christian Advocate,* of Cincinnati, aroused even more opposition, and the reading or receiving of it was made a felony in Wood County.[131]

The Cincinnati *Enquirer,* like the Columbus *Crisis,* was

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[124] *Idem,* pp. 142, 144.
[125] *Daily Intelligencer,* May 2, 1861.
[126] The Wellsburg *Herald,* October 9, 1863.
[127] *Daily Intelligencer,* November 29, 1860. The Wheeling *Press,* August 5, 1862, referred to it as "that sound journal."
[128] This informative Washington organ was of tremendous weight among editors, politicians, and professional men generally. It was the favorite journal of Abraham Lincoln, who termed it "a paper which is not often misled and never intentionally misleads others" (Beveridge, ii, 143, 160), and submitted to it his famous answer to Greeley's "Prayer of the Twenty Millions." The paper's quiet and reasoned course permitted it to be overlooked by Hudson, Payne, and Lee, three of the four historians of American journalism. Bleyer alone (*Main Currents. . . .*, pp. 130-51, passim) has done it a measure of justice. See also Nevins, *American Press Opinion,* pp. 9-10.
[129] *Daily Intelligencer,* January 5, 1860; February 19, 21, 1863; The Wellsburg *Herald,* December 25, 1862.
[130] Although Jacob of Wellsburg frequently derived news and editorial material from the *Evening Chronicle,* which he greatly admired.—The Wellsburg *Herald,* January 23, 1863.
[131] Sheridan Watson Bell, Jr., *The Influence of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Establishment of the State of West Virginia* (Thesis, Morgantown, 1934), p. 21, citing Sweet, *Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War,* p. 29.

accused of having "Copperhead" proclivities. However, the Republican morning papers of Cincinnati, the *Gazette* and the radical *Commercial,* had a strong following in the upper Ohio Valley. In the summer of 1861 the Wheeling *Intelligencer* ran the following journalistic note:[132]

> **There are now no better newspapers in the country than the Cincinnati *Gazette* and *Commercial.* They are gaining on the prestige of the New York journals every day. They deserve their success.**

Their military correspondence rendered both papers distinguished, particularly during the first year of the war, when Whitlaw Reid ("Agate") for the *Gazette* and Colonel W. D. Bickham ("W.D.B.") for the *Commercial* reported the campaigns in western Virginia while occupying the strategic position of aids-de-camp on the staff of General Rosecrans. Their reports, along with editorials and Washington correspondence, frequently found their way into the Wheeling papers.[133]

Major Lang named the *Gazette* and *Commercial,* with the Wheeling *Intelligencer* and Baltimore *American,* as pioneers in "moulding a popular Union sentiment in West Virginia.[134] A Parkersburg meeting resolved that, "the Wheeling *Intelligencer* and all other newspapers printed in West Virginia, and the Cincinnati *Commercial,* be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting."[135] Thus there is indicated a respectable West Virginia circulation for the Cincinnati papers, though they could hardly have been of as much consequence in guiding the thought of the border as was another newspaper published in the Ohio Valley.

The great newspaper of the old West was the Louisville *Journal,* said to have been the first publication ever subscribed for by Abraham Lincoln, who paid for it "when he could secure the intellectual luxury only at the expense

[132] *Daily Intelligencer,* July 13, 1861.
[133] *Daily Intelligencer,* July 1, 10, October 31, 1861; June 26, August 1, 1863; Wheeling *Daily Press,* April 19, July 16, 1862.
[134] Lang, *Loyal West Virginia from 1861 to 1865,* p. 142.
[135] *Daily Intelligencer,* March 5, 1863.

of physical comfort."[136] The *Journal* was the "lengthening shadow" of its presiding genius, George D. Prentice, who founded it in the Whig interest in 1830, and for thirty-seven years thereafter wrote for its columns thousands of the wittiest, fieriest paragraph-editorials ever published in an American newspaper. His satire, with "his great poetical genius," were said by the Wheeling *Intelligencer* to have "rendered his name as familiar to our people as household words."[137] On the appearance of "Prenticiana," a collection of the editor's choicest shafts, the *Intelligencer* said:[138]

> **No man in the Union except Bennett (the author of Prenticiana will excuse us) is more widely known in the newspaper world than Prentice. . . .**

Prentice had followed Henry Clay in his long advocacy of gradual emancipation,[139] and he likewise shared with "Harry of the West" an unswerving love for the Union. Kentucky's Northern commercial connection was also an important consideration with the editor of the *Journal*, which opposed secession and became "perhaps the greatest Union influence in the state," making thousands of converts.[140] On the eve of conflict Prentice distrusted Lincoln, appealing to the Bell and Douglas men to keep Kentucky in the Union, giving expression to his state's ideal of an "armed neutrality beneath the white flag of peace," and railing at the President's first call for troops.[141]

Soon, however, the *Journal* took a firm supporting stand. Though it lost heavily in Southern subscribers and was barred from circulation in Memphis, Nashville, and other principal Southern cities,[142] it led the great body of con-

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[136] *Lincoln Lore* (Fort Wayne, Ind.), August 13, 1934.
[137] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, December 2, 1857. Prentice lectured in Wheeling, and drew "the largest house of the season—biggest ever any lecturer had in Wheeling."—*Intelligencer* December 7, 1857. The Campbell papers include letters from "Geo. D. Prentice"—the invariable signature.
[138] *Idem*, December 22, 1859.
[139] Asa Earl Martin, "The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850." Filson Club Publication, No. 29 (Louisville, 1918), pp. 117, 120, *et passim*.
[140] E. Merton Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1926), pp. 10, 55-56, 92, 112.
[141] *Idem*, pp. 28, 38, 41.
[142] Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, (New York, 1873), p. 325; *Daily Intelligencer*, September 2, 1861.

servative opinion in the West which desired only the preservation of the Union.[143] An almost perfect summary of the position of Democratic papers such as the Wheeling *Press* and Cincinnati *Enquirer* was contained in the following *Journal* paragraph:[144]

> **Although the secessionists and the abolitionists seem to pull in different directions, their tails, like those of Sampson's foxes, are joined with firebrands to wrap the country in flames.**

The *Journal* was honored by Republicans as well as conservatives, and the *Intelligencer* of February 1, 1861, acknowledged its influence by the observation:

> **The Kentucky press, following the lead of Prentice, take great delight in ridiculing everything favorable to disunion.**

Not long afterward the same paper hailed the attitude of the *Journal* under the heading, "Kentucky Redivivus."[145] Isolated citations fail to convey the dependence and familiarity with which western editors looked to Louisville. John G. Jacob of Wellsburg, himself a power, habitually enlivened the columns of his weekly with "Witticisms from Prentice," "Louisville Journalism," or simply "Prentice,"[146] A new country weekly would lose no time in adding "Scraps from Prentice,"[147] and the early numbers of the Wheeling *Register* mingled "Prenticiana" with more extended quotations from the *Journal*.[148]

Prentice had not failed to note developments in western Virginia, and in the spring of 1859 came to the characteristic conclusion that, the *handle* of the Virginia Pan having become quite defective, there was no telling how soon the whole utensil would lose its character and be overturned.[149]

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[143] Yet Prentice wrote, "When God compromises with the first rebel, we may compromise with his followers."—Wheeling *Daily Press*, July 26, 1862.
[144] Wheeling *Daily Press*, July 15, 1862.
[145] *Daily Intelligencer*, April 27, 1861.
[146] The Wellsburg *Herald*, March 28, April 4, September 26, 1862.
[147] *The Weekly Register* (Point Pleasant), no. 2, March 13, 1862.
[148] *The Daily Register*, September 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 1865.
[149] Cited in Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, March 16, 1859.

Following the vote on the Virginia secession ordinance, the Louisville *Journal* called the election:[150]

> . . . a perfect mockery. . . . No man voted against Secession on Thursday last but at peril of being lynched or arrested as an incendiary dangerous to the State.

The war brought personal tragedy to Prentice. Despite his Unionism, both his sons enlisted in the Confederate army, and one was killed."George D. Prentice in Memory of his Rebel Son"[151] is worthy to rank with William Allen White's tribute to his daughter Mary among the finest obituaries in American prose.

THE IMPENDING CRISIS IN PRINT

> Owing to the death of ancient leaders, the decadence of old issues, and the substitution of sectional for national questions, the fountains of the great deep seemed to have been broken up and the papers like Virgil's *"disjecta membra"* drifted about in the turbulent flood, bobbing now up, now down, hither and thither as the waves directed them and no wonder if the pestilent waters closed over more than one of them forever.[152]

Except for certain rhetorical flourishes the above might have been written by a historian of American journalism rather than by a contemporary editor entering upon a new volume of his weekly. By way of illustration, an influential daily which faced the fact of Lincoln's election with the comment that Virginia would "stand by the Constitution and the Union to the last, and *demand* all her Constitutional rights *in* the Union, no matter who may be president,"[153] by the end of the following March was converted to secession.[154] And in the same period one of the long-established organs of the commonwealth honored as the "Mother of Presidents" stooped to calling a president

[150] June 1, 1861, cited by Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Hartford, 1864), vol. 1, note to p. 479.
[151] Reprinted from the Louisville *Journal* in the *Daily Intelligencer*, October 17, 1862.
[152] The Wellsburg *Herald*, November 28, 1856.
[153] Richmond *Daily Whig*, October 18, 1860, cited by Henry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861* (Richmond, 1934), p. 114.
[154] *Idem*, p. 184.

of the United States, "the hideous Chimpanzee from Illinois."[155]

The development of a state of affairs calling forth manifestations such as these was not the work of a month, or of a year. For two decades at the least, powerful economic and political interests had been seeking a repudiation of the democratic order consolidated under the first three presidents and made national by the followers of Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay.[156] In answer to the onslaughts of the devotees of a slave system, there began to rally in the North a band of those opposing slavery on moral grounds. When moral scruples were reinforced by the aroused fears of free farmers and laborers, the "irrepressible conflict" awaited only the identification of the interests of the whole South with those of the "slavocracy" in order to come to a head. Such an identification of interests was remarkable in eastern Virginia;[157] in the western part of the state it was impossible.[158]

Confronted by these tendencies, the mass of the people long remained apathetic. When in 1851 Daniel Webster devoted his famous Fourth of July speech to the proposed secession of Virginia, and deprecated the possibility that the men beyond the Blue Ridge would "remain part and parcel of Virginia a month after Virginia should have ceased to be part and parcel of the United States," his vigorous utterances, though published *in extenso* in the *National Intelligencer,*[159] do not appear to have been deemed of news value in the trans-Allegheny.[160]

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[155] Richmond *Examiner,* March 22, 1861, cited by Shanks, p. 185.

[156] The South Carolina radicals knew very well what they were about. The *Intelligencer* of February 28, 1861, reprinted from the Charleston *Mercury* nearly four columns of a letter from L. W. Spratt, one of the "South Carolina Theorists," protesting the Confederacy's action in prohibiting the foreign slave trade, and arguing that, "the real contest is between the two forms of society."

[157] An examination of the events and influences leading to this result is the burden of Shanks' *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861.* Hereafter simply Shanks.

[158] Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* gives the most comprehensive survey of the differences between the east and the west. See also Ambler, "The Cleavage between Eastern and Western Virginia," *American Historical Review,* vol. 15, pp. 762-81 (July, 1910); and Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia,* chapter 6.

[159] Triweekly edition, July 8, 1851.

[160] Inspection of the files of the *Monongalia Mirror* (Morgantown), Wellsburg *Herald,* and Parkersburg *Gazette* failed to disclose any reports of or comment on the address.

Up until within a few months of the war, organs taking a radical position possessed scant popularity. In Richmond, the *Daily Dispatch,* a nonpartisan penny paper which opposed secession until well along in 1861, had a circulation of 18,000, greater than that of all its competitors together.[161] Even in South Carolina a like situation existed:

> The Charleston *Mercury,* always the disunion organ, has a circulation at home of barely 300—and with exchanges, etc., of less than 500. It is sustained by R. Barnwell Rhett, at an annual loss of $8,000 to $10,000. . . .
>
> The Charleston *Courier,* the conservative union paper of Charleston, has a daily circulation of 3,000, and its annual profit is as large as the loss of its neighbor.[162]

In western Virginia there was even less vogue for the organs of radical theorists.[163] The Wheeling *Intelligencer,* Republican after the fall of 1856, made its chief appeal to the laborers and industrialists of the Ohio Valley, warning them against "the meshes of Eastern Virginia policy —a policy which has for its sole and constant aim the destruction of all the industrial interests of Western Virginia that depend upon the intelligent labor of free white men."[164] The paper gave prominence to "Frank Peirpoint's" attacks on the revision of the Virginia tax schedule, which levied a tax on all incomes derived from labor.[165]

J. G. Jacob of the Wellsburg *Herald* could not in the fall of 1857 see anything morally wrong in slavery,[166] yet recognized it to be productive of much evil in the state,

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[161] Shanks, pp. 113, 155, 166, 183.

[162] *Daily Intelligencer,* November 17, 1860.

[163] "The *Kanawha Valley Star* was one of the very earliest advocates of secession, but it cannot be shown that this paper had a very large following." James C. McGregor, *Disruption of Virginia* (New York, 1922), note to p. 94.

[164] *Daily Intelligencer,* May 23, 1860.

[165] *Idem,* May 22, 24, 1860, *et passim.*

See also, "Modern Democracy—Choice Clips for Laboring Men," Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* September 29, 1859, a series of quotations from the Richmond *Enquirer* which indicated a rejection of Jeffersonian principles, the Declaration of Independence, and democracy generally.

Archibald Campbell maintained a sympathetic alliance with business. In March of 1857 he complacently trusted that a forthcoming editorial convention would be held at "a good railroad point, where we can at least turn our 'free passes' to some account."—Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* March 6, 1857.

[166] The Wellsburg *Herald,* September 11, 1857.

needing to be curbed, while from the national aspect, "we hold it to be the greatest evil with which the country is afflicted." He saw gradual emancipation as "both practical and probable."

The partisan ground later taken by the *Intelligencer* was stated in the issue of May 12, 1860, as follows:

> We always looked upon Whigs, Americans and Republicans as natural allies—as members of one great common family, who had no real differences when they came to understand each other aright.

And the Wheeling editor continued, in regard to the local anti-Democratic opposition:

> . . . Their tendency, like that of their great teacher Henry Clay,[167] has ever been to the doctrines of the gradual emancipation school.

Campbell & M'Dermot, on taking over the *Intelligencer*, had promised that theirs would be "eminently a reliable commercial journal,"[168] and less than a year later the Wellsburg *Herald*, referring to a series of *Intelligencer* articles on the advantages of Wheeling as a manufacturing site, said that the paper "is now doing more for the material advancement of the State than all the political journals combined."[169] Jacob then continued on the theme of economic development in a strain which drew the fire of other western Virginia journals:[170]

> It is not more evidently the policy of St. Louis to favor free labor than it is of Wheeling, nor are there greater impediments to its introduction into Western Virginia than there were in Missouri. . . . The parallel is a fair one between St. Louis and Missouri, and Wheeling and Western Virginia. *Missouri is destined to be a free State*, and however improbable the assertion, or unpalatable the fact, it is

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[167] For weeks, beginning in April, 1861, the *Intelligencer* ran in its masthead Clay's declaration in the Senate in 1850, "If Kentucky tomorrow unfurls the banner of resistance, I will never fight under that banner. I owe a paramount allegiance to the whole Union—a subordinate one to my own State."

[168] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, October 9, 1856.

[169] The Wellsburg *Herald*, August 28, 1857.

[170] Criticisms by the Morgantown *Messenger* & *Recorder*, and other papers, cited in The Wellsburg *Herald*, October 9, 1857.

> morally certain that Virginia, intensely slave-holding as she appears now, will *follow in her wake, or split,* sooner or later.

The parallel noted by his Wellsburg colleague impressed Campbell also, and late in 1859 a long and forward-looking "leader" in the *Intelligencer* remarked, "Wheeling and St. Louis are really the only two cosmopolitan cities of the South." The article rejoiced in the liberal spirit prevailing in both, comparing them to the "freed cities" of continental Europe.[171]

The national, commercial spirit which had characterized the "men of the Western Waters" remained prevalent throughout the Ohio Valley. It kept Kentucky in the Union,[172] and was evident in the journalism of the river towns. At the close of 1860, the Parkersburg *News,* which in the emotional storm of the next spring went over to the side of secession, acknowledged:[173]

> Western Virginia, from its geographical position, must *ultimately* unite with the States in the valley of the Mississippi.[174]

In the summer of 1859 the Richmond *Whig* contained a "long jeremiad over the downfall of North Western Virginia," alleging that five abolition papers were being published there, and the *Intelligencer* responded:[175]

> The only papers in Virginia, known to us, which make any pretensions to opposition to the extension of slavery and

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[171] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* September 28, 1859. The paper made the same comparison again, September 7, 1860, and boasted that its reports of political meetings were being quoted by exchanges "from one end of the country to the other." It was assailed by the Washington *Constitution* as "the organ of Southern Black Republicanism."—*Daily Intelligencer,* August 14, 1860.

[172] Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky,* early pages.

[173] Cited in *Daily Intelligencer,* December 28, 1860, which commented, "We are as much two peoples and even more than those living on the two sides of the Alps. . . . the God of Nature made us a part of Pennsylvania, while the surveyors, by accident or design, made us a part of Virginia."

[174] Stephen A. Douglas spoke at Bellaire late in April of 1861. Referring to the Ohio River, he exclaimed, "This great valley must never be divided."—*Daily Intelligencer,* April 23, 1861.

Representative Henry Winter Davis, in an address to his Maryland constituents, said, "Western Virginia belongs to the Valley of the Mississippi. Virginia can never withdraw from the existing confederacy undivided. Her western boundary will be the Blue Ridge." Entire speech printed and commented on, *Daily Intelligencer,* January 5, 1861.

[175] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* July 11, 1859.

in favor of the gradual extinction of it in this State, are the Wellsburg *Herald*, the *Intelligencer*, and perhaps the Moundsville *Sentinel*.[176] None of these papers supported John Letcher, although none of them supported Mr. Goggin.[177]

An event which in the fall of 1859 evoked a crisis in public opinion was John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Professor Shanks says, "As a result of the Northern sympathy, or supposed sympathy, for Brown's crime, all factions in Virginia were united in their resentment."[178] The chief resentment evident in the Wheeling *Intelligencer* was directed against its telegraph news service for delaying to transmit news of the attack.[179] A column-long, moderate analysis of the Harpers Ferry incident was reprinted from the *Intelligencer* of October 21, by the New York *Post*, as the sentiments of "one Virginia editor, at least, who is disposed to keep hold of his wits in the flurry, and to inquire whether late incidents may not have more than one import."[180]

The chief immediate result of Brown's act was the "bill for arming the state," condemned by the *Intelligencer*, the Parkersburg *Gazette and Courier*, and a Wood County public meeting, as being a preparation for secession.[181]

In the realm of politics, the Virginia Republicans kept in touch with national party leaders,[182] and an effort was made to bring the Republican convention of 1860 to Wheel-

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[176] The *Sentinel* had been founded a few months earlier by J. E. P. Dorsey.—*Idem*, March 16, 1859.

[177] The Letcher-Goggin contest for the governorship in 1859 had turned on the question of which candidate could prove the strongest attachment to the slave system. Goggin's partisans reprinted the Ruffner Pamphlet, indorsed by Letcher in 1847, using it to show that the latter was "unsound." (. . . "all the politicians in Virginia engaged in circulating incendiary documents."—Pittsburgh *Journal*). The stand then taken indicated the hopeless subserviency of both political organizations to the slave interest.

[178] Shanks, p. 88.

[179] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, November 2, 1859. The discrimination of the Associated Press against the West was a subject of perennial complaint in the Wheeling and Pittsburgh papers, *e. g.*, Wheeling *Daily Press*, August 26, September 10, 1862.

[180] Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, October 28, 1859. The Campbell papers include a letter to Campbell & M'Dermot from Joseph Medill, editor of the Chicago *Press and Tribune*, dated October 30, 1859. Medill wrote, "The bold and noble stand your paper has taken on the Harper Ferry *emeute* challenges our admiration."

[181] *Daily Intelligencer*, January 23, 1860.

[182] The Campbell papers include letters from Cassius M. Clay, Horace Greeley, William H. Seward, and others. Campbell and J. G. Jacob also wrote back and forth on political topics.

ing. Cassius M. Clay, the Kentucky abolitionist, lent his aid to the project,[183] which however was rendered impracticable by the John Brown raid and its repercussions.[184] The latter event had so heightened the acerbity of partisan and sectional feeling that when the Virginia Republican Convention met in Wheeling, May 2, 1860, the *Daily Union* in the course of a fiery tirade asserted that, "whether they will be suffered to proceed with their sacrilegious work in peace remains to be seen."[185]

During this period the *Intelligencer,* like other Republican papers, ran the texts, or long extracts of leading anti-slavery utterances.[186]

Campbell and Jacob were both members of the Virginia —really the Ohio, Brooke, and Hancock County—delegation to the Republican National Convention in Chicago. The editor of the *Intelligencer* favored Seward for first place on the ticket, and Seward failing, then Clay, for whom the Virginians tried to get the vice-presidential nomination.[187] However two days before Lincoln's nomination Campbell concluded a letter to his paper, "I should not be a bit surprised to see Lincoln the nominee of the Convention."[188] The *Intelligencer* later featured Lincoln's assertion that he would gladly have had a Southerner on the ticket.[189]

The platform of the *Intelligencer* during the campaign is epitomized in the heading of one of its column-long appeals, "The Protective Policy of the Republican Party —Facts for Working Men."[190] At intervals for more than a year Campbell's organ had been carrying articles on

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183 A letter from Clay to Campbell, dated May 27, 1859, in the Campbell papers; also Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* June 8, 1859. Clay sought the Republican nomination for the presidency, or failing that, the vice-presidency, and his letters to the Wheeling editor confided his hopes and plans.

184 Boston *Traveler,* cited in *Daily Intelligencer,* January 2, 1860.

185 Cited in *Daily Intelligencer,* May 3, 8, 1860.

186 A Frankfort speech of "the gallant Cash Clay—the man who has done more for the cause of free speech and a free press in the South, than all other men combined" (*Idem,* January 12, 1860) filled two and one-half pages of the issue of January 24, 1860. Lincoln's Cooper Union address got two and one-half columns, March 3, 1860.

187 *Daily Intelligencer,* May 24, 1860.

188 *Idem,* May 19, 1860, letter dated Chicago, May 16.

189 June 1, 1860, citing the report of a Cincinnati speech by Lincoln, given in the *Gazette.*

190 *Daily Intelligencer,* September 10, 1860.

"Sectional Strife," by "A Son of the Old Dominion." Now however a Bell and Everetts parade in Wheeling dragged through the streets a wagon containing a bell tolling "The Death Knell of Sectionalism."[191] *The Daily Union,* Breckinridge organ, ran in its masthead on page two the figure of an eagle bearing in its beak a streamer lettered, THE UNION—IT MUST BE PRESERVED, above a banner with the caption, "Democracy." The attorneys who guided Charleston Democracy and the *Kanawha Valley Star* made their campaign motto "State sovereignty & a constitutional union."[192] The Douglas faction, led in the west by Sherrard Clemens and Marshall Dent's Morgantown *Star,* resembled the "Bell and Everetts" in their firm Union views, though "each party insisted that a vote for its candidate would be a vote for the Union."[193]

However following the election the Breckinridge party and its press set to work to achieve disunion, with the Richmond *Enquirer* and *Examiner* leading the movement in Virginia, and keynoting for a host of local Democratic organs.[194] Secession papers in the northwest at the close of 1860 included the Fairmont *True Virginian* and Wheeling *Union,*[195] *Cooper's Clarksburg Register,*[196] Weston *Herald, Barbour Jeffersonian,* and *Kanawha Valley Star.* At the same time the Union was upheld by the Wellsburg *Herald,* Wheeling *Staats Zeitung,*[197] *Intelligencer,* Morgantown *Star,* Middlebourne *Plaindealer,* Grafton *Guardian,* Pruntytown *Visitor,*[198] Parkersburg *News*[199] and *Gazette* and *Courier, Kanawha Republican,* Clarksburg *Guard, Ritchie Democrat,* and possibly others.

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191 *Idem,* July 16, 1860.
192 Line in the nameplate of the *Star* during 1860. In the spring of 1861 this became, "State equality & a Southern confederacy."
193 Shanks, pp. 115, 245.
194 Shanks, pp. 125-26. The *Enquirer* then had the second largest circulation in the state, the *Daily Dispatch* holding first place.
195 *Daily Intelligencer,* December 25, 1860.
196 Probably; positive evidence has not come to hand.
197 The Germans everywhere were Unionists. On a previous occasion the Wheeling *Argus* had assailed the "Turners" (members of *Turnvereine,* or athletic associations) as "abolitionists and athiests."—Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer,* September 1, 1859.
198 The foregoing so listed in the *Daily Intelligencer,* December 25, 1860.
199 "Even friend Charley of the *News,* is for the Union," wrote a Parkersburg correspondent to the *Intelligencer* of December 18, 1860.

The post-election attitude of the Democratic Tyler County *Plaindealer* was as follows:[200]

> We got mad, split the democratic party,—seceded, tore up things and let Lincoln be elected, and now we'll secede again and split the Union sprung in two,—can do it, because we split the democratic party, and so it shall be by the eternal blixen.[201]

The *Intelligencer,* as the most prominent paper in the northwest,[202] was campaigning vigorously for the Union. It reprinted the New York *Times's* reproduction of Madison-Hamilton correspondence which rejected the theory of secession;[203] it took from the Morgantown *Star* a report of the Preston County meeting, November 12, repudiating disunion;[204] it drew again on the *Times* for a summary of Henry Clay's disapproving attitude toward nullification and secession.[205]

By the end of 1860 certain eastern editors began to grasp the significance of the mounting revolt in western Virginia, and the Washington National *Intelligencer* published a long communication from Ritchie County setting forth the position of the west. The strongly pro-Southern Baltimore *Sun* immediately discovered a "Proposition to Make Two States out of Virginia,"[206] in the same words used in the letter from Ritchie:[207]

> The people of the eastern and western portions of Virginia are almost as different in their ideas as natives of South Carolina and New England. . . . Considerations of an

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[200] Quoted in *Daily Intelligencer,* November 30, 1860; the *Plaindealer* later gave the lie to the Wheeling *Union's* accusation that it was abolitionist and anti-slavery. —*Daily Intelligencer,* April 10, 1861.

[201] Prentice of Louisville took the following view of the matter: "All the facts prove that Breckinridge was not nominated in good faith. He was nominated not to be elected, but to be beaten. He was nominated to divide the Democratic party, and to insure the election of Lincoln. He was nominated to produce a sectional contest, to inflame sectional animosities, and to prepare the way for a dissolution of the Union. The game was adroitly and successfully played."—Louisville *Daily Journal,* April 1, 1861, cited by Wilson Porter Shortridge, "Kentucky Neutrality in 1861," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* vol. 9, no. 4 (March, 1923), pp. 283-301; p. 285.

[202] January 7, 1861, the *Intelligencer* stated its belief that it had "now reached a circulation double any that a Wheeling paper ever had hitherto."

[203] *Daily Intelligencer,* November 16, 1860.

[204] *Idem, November* 16, 1860.

[205] *Idem,* November 20, 1860.

[206] Baltimore *Weekly Sun,* December 29, 1860.

[207] As quoted in the Wheeling *Intelligencer;* the *Sun* paper did not cite its source.

> economical character, . . . are represented to be at the bottom of this popular movement, which awaits only the opportunity and the pretext to assume formidable proportions.

Campbell's *Intelligencer,* in quoting from the Washington paper, commented:[208]

> Is it not time that we responded to this suggestion of the *National Intelligencer* correspondent in Ritchie county, and give Eastern Virginia to understand that, if she goes into a Cotton Confederacy, she goes alone, and without Western Virginia.

However the Wellsburg *Herald* would seem to have expressed the truth of the situation in regard to the dismemberment of Virginia in the comment:[209]

> The fact of the business is, that no newspaper in particular is responsible for this idea, for it legitimately grows out of the chronic discontent in Western Virginia with the administration of State affairs, and especially with the management of the slavery question.

SECESSION, WAR, AND THE PRESS

There are those who maintain that revolutions are consummated before the shooting starts. While such a contention probably is not historically justifiable, nevertheless it calls attention to factors which should not be overlooked.

When the Virginia convention assembled in Richmond, February 13, 1861, it bore the mandate of a Union-loving electorate. More than four-fifths of its membership is said to have consisted of Douglas men and "Bell and Everetts."[210] Therefore the prompt reaction to the firing on Fort Sumter two months later is sometimes explained as due to a wave of emotion, which indeed developed. However Virginia was already committed to secession. Politically, the "pipe-laying"[211] had been well executed; the politicians' press had brought the leaders of Virginia

[208] *Daily Intelligencer,* December 25, 1860; also January 3, 1861.
[209] Cited in *Daily Intelligencer,* December 31, 1860.
[210] Charles Henry Ambler, *A History of West Virginia* (New York, 1933), pp. 301-02.
[211] A vivid expression occurring in the mid-century press.

around to the secessionist point of view[212] long before the *Daily Dispatch* had ceased to sound a note of Unionism for its lay readers. The intellectual leadership of the state, particularly at the University of Virginia,[213] was imbued with Southern radicalism. Even the churches of the east, as in the Cotton South, had been accommodated in organization and tenets to the needs of a slave system.

The political and journalistic influences affecting an important element in western Virginia have already been touched upon. A different social code was adhered to in the west.[214] In the matter of education, westerners leaving home to go to college sought Pennsylvania and Ohio institutions, particularly Marietta and Washington and Jefferson Colleges, rather than the University of Virginia; only seventeen out of 317 Virginians at the state university in 1858-59 came from what is now West Virginia.[215] The churches of the west also reflected a different set of interests and ideals, though the struggle for religious supremacy, particularly in Methodism, gained such a place in the public prints that:

> In many instances it would have been difficult to tell from their contents whether or not the pro-Southern newspapers or periodicals of the Valley or Trans-Allegheny were church or party organs.[216]

Popular thought and usage had long distinguished between "Eastern Virginia" and "Western Virginia," and to the extent that the former was prepared for secession, and the latter was ready to "secede from secession." For

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[212] The Wellsburg *Herald*, April 4, 1862, commenting on General J. J. Jackson's opposition to the new state constitution, observed, "It is lamentably true, however, that very little reliance is to be put upon the patriotism and political integrity of men who have been long associated with Virginia politics. States rights dogmatism runs so imperceptibly and at the same time so surely into treason, that it is as difficult to define the line as it is easy to foresee the catastrophe. A stickler for States rights, as understood in Virginia, is sure, sooner or later, to turn out a secessionist."

[213] Shanks, pp. 67, 71: "The University of Virginia has been a perfect rattlesnake's den of traitors for years; and the taxes of the people at the rate of $25,000 a year, have gone to keep it up. There will be a change in this sort of thing after a while."—*Daily Intelligencer*, March 22, 1861.

[214] Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 322, for the western attitude toward dueling.

[215] Ambler, "The Cleavage between Eastern and Western Virginia," pp. 768-69.

[216] Ambler, "The Cleavage between Eastern and Western Virginia," p. 770. The *Kanawha Valley Star* in the winter of 1857-58 was a good example of this development.

the westerners were aware that if they became a party to disunion their position would become untenable, and the *Kanawha Republican*, discussing the effect on the border of the formation of a Cotton Confederacy, reflected, "How long would it be, if we dissolved peaceably, before we would be involved in civil war? Not thirty days."[217]

Occupied by thoughts such as the foregoing, the people of northwestern Virginia endeavored to send unconditional Unionists to Richmond, and the press seconded their attempt.[218] The *Intelligencer* subsequently testified concerning the nature of the opposition:[219]

> It must be remembered that prior to the vote on the ordinance of secession nearly every prominent man in the lower and inland counties had received overtures from Richmond and had accepted them. Nearly every little county lawyer and county clerk was deeply interested in the secession business.

Once in Richmond the delegates were plied by the leaders and flattered by the papers,[220] while their constituent public and press worried and protested without avail.[221] In the ripeness of time Roger Pryor on his own authority gave the signal to the Charleston batteries,[222] and Virginia was swept into secession.[223]

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[217] Quoted in *Daily Intelligencer*, November 12, 1860.

[218] Gibson L. Cranmer, of Ohio County, announced for the convention in the *Intelligencer*, January 18, 1861, as follows:

"I am

"First: In favor of the Union as it is.

"Second: I do not believe that the Constitution recognizes the right of a State to secede at pleasure.

"And, thirdly, in the event of secession on the part of Virginia, I am in favor, as a last resort, of a division of Western from Eastern Virginia."

[219] *Daily Intelligencer*, September 23, 1862.

[220] By March 29 every newspaper in Richmond was advocating secession.—Shanks, p. 184. The *Enquirer* had been given, on special and limited motion, the contract to report officially the debates of the convention, at $900 a week. However it "held over" accounts of the Union speeches of Willey and Carlile, and the *Intelligencer* had to draw on the abstracts printed in the popularly edited *Dispatch*. —*Daily Intelligencer*, March 8, 11, 1861.

[221] Concerning a Wetzel secessionist elected as a Union delegate from a field of five candidates, Marshall Dent wrote to his *Star* (quoted in *Daily Intelligencer*, March 11, 1861), "Judas Iscariot got his name up for betraying *his Master*, and has never been forgiven since, and, in my opinion, if he and L. S. Hall were to run for the same office in Wetzel county tomorrow, Judas would beat Hall more than two hundred votes."

[222] An address by Ambassador W. E. Dodd, reported from Berlin to The New York *Times*, June 16, 1935, sec. 1, p. 27, col. 6.

[223] The purpose of the reduction of Fort Sumter was no mystery to Prentice, who commented, "Sumter was of little consequence to the Confederate States—not worth the powder spent on it; but the Border States were worth shooting at."—*Daily Louisville Journal*, April 28, 1861, cited by Shortridge, "Kentucky Neutrality in 1861," p. 294.

The Richmond correspondent of a New York journal wrote:[224]

> A more successful or high-handed game was never played than that the Secessionists have been playing this last month. They are thoroughly organized, and having the presses of the State in their own hands, the Unionists have been without a standpoint on which they might have rallied.

This statement in regard to the press was not applicable to the northwest, and Carlile's great Clarksburg mass meeting of April 22, which called for a convention at Wheeling May 13, was reported in an extra of the newly-established Clarksburg *Guard,* and the report reprinted in the *Intelligencer* of April 25. That the movement was a concerted one is indicated by the fact that on April 22 the *Intelligencer* printed the following "Public Notice":

> We are informed that there is a strong movement on foot among many of the counties west of the Allegheny, urging a general convention in this city early in May, to look to such action as shall be necessary in case of the movements of Eastern Virginia and other parts of the State against the Government. The object is a new organization either as a State or as part of some other State under the federal flag. We have been requested by several of our friends in the back counties to give the notice a prominent place in our columns so that the Union men may promptly take such action in the premises as may be necessary. It is needless to say that we heartily endorse and encourage the movement.

Day by day during the next few weeks Campbell's organ was filled with reports of county meetings, reprints from the loyal weeklies of the west, and exhortations to the people. When the secession ordinance reached Wheeling, the *Intelligencer* proclaimed:[225]

> The State is in revolution now. The ordinance is worded to take effect from its passage. It is as much in effect now as it ever will be. . . . Summon every energy of your mind and heart and strength, and let the traitors who desecrate

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[224] New York *Daily Tribune,* April 20, 1861; also April 22, in regard to *"The Enquirer* clique."
[225] April 29, 1861.

> our borders see, and let the world abroad see; and let history in all after time record it, that there was one green spot —one Swiss Canton—one Scottish highland—one province of Vendee, where unyielding patriotism rallied and gathered, and stood, and won a noble triumph.

While the merchants of Wheeling were meeting to refuse to pay license taxes to "the present usurped government at Richmond," a Clarksburg gathering was resolving its adherence to Thomas Ritchie and the Richmond *Enquirer* of 1814 in repudiation of secession. Both the economics and the politics of Unionism were duly recorded in the *Intelligencer*.[226] Thus by the time the "mass convention" assembled May 13, the civil and political preparation of the northwest for independent action in the Union was well advanced. There remained the necessity for military measures.

When in April Lincoln called for 75,000 militia, the *Intelligencer* printed his short summons on page one, immediately following the text of President Jackson's proclamation of 1833 against the South Carolina nullifiers.[227] A similar supporting attitude was in evidence throughout the war.[228] However a border paper had many other problems besides that of arousing the military ardor of its readers. What should not be printed was an important consideration, and the incautious publication of military information might have serious consequences.[229] There

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[226] May 3, 6, 1861.

[227] *Daily Intelligencer*, April 16, 1861. The Jackson tradition was by no means extinct in 1861. The Wellsburg *Herald*, June 13, 1862, contained the striking assertion, ". . . however much our Panhandle democrats may affect to rejoice in their sympathy for the South, the fact is acknowledged that a majority of the army, officers and men, are men who in time of peace voted the democratic ticket. This fact alone, and we believe it to be a fact, should cause our Panhandle democrats to pause and think whether in espousing the cause of the South and giving the cold shoulder to the government, they are not out of their soundings and rapidly being driven upon the banks."

[228] *Daily Intelligencer*, August 20, 1862, praising a company from West Liberty; also September 15, October 9, 1862; *et passim*.

[229] The Campbell papers contain a letter from Captain B. F. Hawkes, dated Romney, November 1, 1861, with the plea:

> ". . . don't publish anything more about my strength.
>
> "Your late article invites the rebels to cut me to pieces before I can get reinforced.
>
> "Suffer nothing to be published relative to my strength or position—except what passes under your own eye."

The *Intelligencer's* standing in military circles is made evident by another letter, dated Cumberland, Md., December 14, 1862, which stated that by orders of General Kelley headquarters was forwarding to the Wheeling paper a captured copy of a late Richmond *Whig*.

were discovered evidences of what might have been a Confederate newspaper forwarding system out of Wheeling,[230] and on at least one occasion, late in the war, General Lee found the *Intelligencer* a source of valuable information.[231] The government had to take action against even loyal papers because of a too great frankness in their military intelligence.[232]

Freedom of the press had long been of uncertain standing in the South, bills of rights notwithstanding,[233] and in February of 1861 the Richmond grand jury had called attention to the fact that three "incendiary papers," the New York *Times, World,* and *Tribune,* were circulating in the city contrary to law.[234] In Wheeling the *Daily Union* hailed the adoption and ratification of the provisional Confederate constitution,[235] yet continued publication until the departure of the editor, following the election of May 23, when he voted for secession.[236] The *Intelligencer* refused to publish the names of those voting for secession, and reproved the Wellsburg *Herald* for giving the lists for Brooke and Hancock Counties.[237]

Nevertheless, *inter arms silent leges,* The United States marshal stopped the sale of secession papers in Wheeling, giving orders that no more be brought in, and the *Intelligencer* complained that the circulation of such "sheets" around West Liberty had caused the Union cause to lose

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[230] *Daily Intelligencer,* June 26, 1863.

[231] James G. Randall, "The Newspaper Problem in Its Bearing upon Military Secrecy during the Civil War," *American Historical Review,* vol. 23, no. 2 (January, 1918), pp. 303-23; p. 312. The morning edition of the *Intelligencer* in question, that of January 23, 1865, did not contain the account of the passage of General Thomas's troops through Bellaire which Lee interpreted as forecasting Grant's movement on Richmond. If the reference is accurate, the note must have appeared in an afternoon edition, which would be more hastily and incautiously edited than the morning paper.

[232] For instance, the case of the Washington *Chronicle,* recounted in The Wellsburg *Herald,* March 21, 1862.

[233] See The Wellsburg *Herald,* November 27, 1857.

[234] *Daily Intelligencer,* February 16, 1861.

[235] *Idem,* May 1, 1861.

[236] The list of secession voters in Wheeling, taken from the poll book, is given by Gibson L. Cranmer, *History of Wheeling City and Ohio County, West Virginia* (Chicago, 1902), p. 192.

A printed list, evidently circulated as a handbill, is contained among the Campbell papers.

[237] *Daily Intelligencer,* June 1, 1861. "Whatever any one may think of secessionists, and no one thinks much worse of their principles than we do, the publication of the names of voters for anything is, in our opinion, a very dangerous precedent to set. We have refused to publish the list in this county, even as an advertisement. The poll books will perpetuate their error, and that is enough."

ground there.[238] The federal government soon closed the mails to several New York papers, among them the *Journal of Commerce* and Brooklyn *Eagle*.[239] An open letter by Marshall E. M. Norton to the publishers of the Baltimore *Sun* explained frankly and regretfully his refusal to let the *Sun* be distributed at the Morgantown post-office on the grounds that necessity demanded a suspension of "our old and cherished modes."[240]

The smaller communities were for a time flooded with the Columbus *Crisis*, distributed to a great extent gratis, until its circulation in West Virginia was interdicted under penalty.[241] The Baltimore *Exchange* was another paper circulated by the "secesh." In the spring of 1863 Archibald Campbell, as postmaster of Wheeling, wrote to Postmaster-General Blair, testifying to the difficulties caused by such papers as the New York *World* and *Caucasian*, Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Chicago *Times*, and Columbus *Crisis*, and stated:[242]

> They are sent in bundles to soldiers by disloyal persons. And letter writers from the camps constantly note the disaffection which results. . . .
>
> The Provost Marshal of this State was in my office today & he told me that he found all his efforts in our counties to bring about a correct & loyal condition of public feeling in a great measure counteracted by the extensive and increasing circulation of such papers as I have named. I have heard Gov. Peirpoint frequently make the same declaration. . . . There is but one way to do and that is to lay the axe at the root of the evil.

However, drastic counsels in regard to the press were not acted upon, although papers might occasionally be barred from the lines of military commands, as was done in the case of the Wheeling *Press*.[243]

Meanwhile the successive steps in the formation of the Restored Government of Virginia had been carefully

[238] *Daily Intelligencer*, August 28, 1861.
[239] *Idem*, August 28, September 5, October 9, 1861.
[240] *Idem*, December 29, 1861.
[241] The Wellsburg *Herald*, February 20, May 8, 1863.
[242] Letter dated Wheeling, March 24, 1863; Campbell papers.
[243] *Daily Intelligencer*, December 2, 1862.

chronicled in the *Intelligencer,* which was to the west what the Richmond *Enquirer* had been to the east, in the years preceding—a repository of information, a staple of opinion, and an interpreter to the press of the nation. Its next function was to consist of pioneering in the making of a new state.

MAKING AND "SELLING" THE NEW STATE

> **There is an immense feeling here in favor of a division of the State, and it is increasing hourly at this moment. Songs are heard in its favor in all public places. . . .**
>
> **The new State will be called New Virginia, and embrace the most valuable portion of the mineral resources of the State.[244]**

Just how wide-spread and spontaneous was the feeling of western Virginians in favor of a new state will never be known with certainty. Certainly the administration at Washington did not desire the division of Virginia, and a Washington dispatch, evidently officially inspired, to the New York *Tribune* of May 20, 1861, said of the June meeting of the Wheeling convention:

> **Instead of dividing the State, the policy will be proposed of forming a Provisional Government for the whole State, and an election will be proposed for Governor and State officers. . . . avoiding the ugly appearance of imitating, on a small scale, the illegal and unconstitutional secession of the Rebel States.**

An editorial in the same issue of the *Tribune* called the Washington policy "the true plan for the Union men of Western Virginia.[245] However the Union press of the region in question was insistent in demanding separation from old Virginia,[246] and the Wheeling *Intelligencer,*

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[244] Wheeling dispatch featured on the Sunday front page of the New York *Daily Tribune,* May 12, 1861.

[245] Though uncompromising as to principles, Horace Greeley did not usually favor extreme policies. One of his letters to Campbell, in 1868, advocating moderation in measures of reconstruction did much to hasten "the conservative reaction in West Virginia." See Harvey Mitchell Rice's thesis of that title (Morgantown, 1933), pp. 45-46.

[246] *e. g.,* Parkersburg *Gazette* and *Ritchie Democrat,* cited in *Daily Intelligencer,* June 18, August 30, 1861.

though believing that the assent of Congress to a new state could not be obtained until the whole of Virginia had been brought back into the Union, yet stated:[247]

> The people of Western Virginia will never, and ought never to be satisfied with anything short of a division of the State; and that division should be put in train at once by this Convention, so that it may be secured at the earliest possible moment.

The same feeling of attachment to existing institutions and a tradition which had aided the Union cause in eastern Virginia militated against the formation of a new state in the west. The editor of the Wellsburg *Herald* was typical of many who, fully aware of the failure of the old connection to work satisfactorily, yet faced the prospect of separation with a distinct lack of enthusiasm.[248] It was an upsurge of popular feeling that caused the rejection of the title of Kanawha for the new state and insisted upon retention of the Virginia name.[249]

Yet the Wheeling government from the outset represented a break with tradition. Governor Pierpont's brief and dignified inaugural address[250] was termed by the New York Tribune:[251]

> . . . such a document as has not come from the pen of a Virginia Governor for half a century. . . . It asserts, for the first time officially in Virginia, the right of labor no less than of capital "to enter into the legislation of the country."

As the Restored Government began to take form, the

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[247] June 18, 1861.

[248] The Wellsburg *Herald*, August 1, November 14, 28, 1862; also Wheeling *Daily Press*, September 4, 1862.

[249] *Daily Intelligencer*, September 18, 28, 30, 1861. "Many Ladies," writing from Morgantown, declared, "We have no foolish prejudice against being separated from the aristocracy of Eastern Virginia, but we were born on Virginia soil, and our attachment for the *name* and soil are strong, and since it is they, and not we, who have changed government, let us keep the good old name of Western Virginia. If they do not choose to be identified by the same name, let them find another."

"Propriety," finding Kanawha "a hard jaw-breaking word of harsh sound and hard to spell," feared lest, "In foreign countries, they would think we were some new tribe of Indians just discovered."

"Many Ladies of Fairmont" deemed Kanawha "an ugly name," and asserted, "Though Virginia is now very closely associated with treason, yet we are Virginians, and we are proud of it. . . . We are for Western Virginia, West Virginia, or New Virginia, preferring them in the order named, . . ."

[250] Occupying scarcely a half column, *Daily Intelligencer*, June 21, 1861.

[251] Sunday, June 30, 1861.

advocates of immediate division manifested discontent. Marshall Dent, Democratic editor of the Morgantown *Star,* after spending nearly a month in New York "with our eyes and ears open," assailed the Wheeling convention as controlled by New York holders of some $20,000,000 in Virginia bonds, who anticipated the loss of their holdings if western Virginia should set up in statehood for itself.[252]

Following the submission of the new state ordinance to the people, in October of 1861, the Wheeling *Press* disparaged the result, due to the fact that only about one-fourth of the electorate voted.[523] The *Intelligencer* countered with the following analysis of the state of public opinion:

> The interest and anxiety in the result of the struggle, both in Western Virginia and elsewhere has swallowed up all other issues or considerations of whatever kind. The public mind is turned morbidly away from all civil affairs. As it was in Ohio and in other States where elections have recently been held, so it was here. Two exciting issues could not engage the minds of the people at the same time, any more than in physics two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time. The less exciting one must go to the wall. And so it did in our election. We stated before the election our belief that such would be the case. It was reasonable that it should be so.

But other than psychological factors could be advanced to account for the nature of the new-state elections. Concerning the small total vote on the constitution and the accompanying poll of sentiment as to slavery, April 3, 1862, the *Intelligencer* explained:[254]

> The usual official publications had all been omitted, and likewise the usual preparations. It was only those who read the morning papers, and charged their minds with the fact

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[252] *Daily Intelligencer,* July 3, 15, 20, 1861. Campbell refuted the argument that separation would constitute an escape from a share of the Virginia debt. The *Intelligencer* also denied that there were New York agents active in Wheeling. An interesting phase of the affair was Dent's swift elimination from journalism and politics.

[523] Cited and answered, *Daily Intelligencer,* October 29, 1861.

[254] April 4, 1862; also April 22, 1862.

> that there was to be an election yesterday, who really knew it. No other announcement was made.

The ground work for the elimination of slavery from the new state was done by the churches,[255] and the press, under the leadership of the *Intelligencer*.

"Abolitionist" and "abolitionism" had long been terms of reproach among the people generally. The editor of the Clarksburg *Guard*, under the cut of a huge revolver, had given the lie to anyone calling him an "Abolitionist or Black Republican,"[256] and in a similar mood a writer for the Point Pleasant *Register* promised that any "trifling devils" applying such epithets to him would "go up the spout" as surely as there was virtue in powder and lead.[257]

However Campbell's paper bombarded the sessions of the constitutional convention, during the winter of 1861-62, with attacks on slavery and pleas for gradual emancipation in the new state.[258] The Buffalo *Express* cited the *Intelligencer's* attitude and exulted over "the grand fact that we are to gain a new free State to the Union as the first fruit of secession."[259] And the New York *Post* said of the new-state men:[260]

> There is no doubt that if they apply to Congress for admission to the Union with a Constitution enforcing slavery, they will be sent back, and their labor will be thrown away.

Gordon Battelle, Methodist minister and leading abolitionist of Virginia, after having undertaken to obtain for the convention advice as to the educational program to be instituted,[261] turned his attention to the advocacy of resolutions which would bring about the speedy ending of

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[255] James Morton Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia*, (Charleston, 1913), p. 527.
[256] *Daily Intelligencer*, February 12, 1861.
[257] *The Weekly Register*, June 19, 1862.
[258] *Daily Intelligencer*, December 4, 9, 1861; February 1, 3, 1862, *et passim*. A protestant against the clause in the new constitution excluding free Negroes from the state took the high ethical ground, "That nothing morally wrong can ever be truly expedient."—Wilberforce," in *Daily Intelligencer*, April 25, 1862.
[259] Cited in *Daily Intelligencer*, December 5, 1861.
[260] *Idem*, February 1, 1862.
[261] On Battelle's application, Professor Alexander Martin, of Allegheny College, submitted an educational plan to which the *Intelligencer* of December 13, 1861, devoted two and one-half columns.

slavery in the new state. The convention adopted a ten-minute speaking limit and the *Intelligencer*[262] forthwith printed a six-column anti-slavery address by Battelle, in order that his arguments might be placed before the delegates and the public. Campbell had already presented his own point of view in the following words:[263]

> For, believe as we will, and legislate as we may, we can never be a Southern State. . . . Congress will hesitate long before it will consent to the subdivision of a slave State, simply that two slave States may be made out of it.

Credit for suggesting a poll on the subject of slavery, in connection with the referendum on the constitution, has been given to the *Intelligencer,*[264] but it was Delegate H. W. Crothers, of Brooke County, who wrote to the Wellsburg *Herald* in favor of such a vote within the county,[265] being under the mistaken impression that as a member of the Legislature he would have occasion to pass upon gradual emancipation. The *Intelligencer* in reporting Colonel Crothers' proposal urged that a vote be taken in every county, for its effect upon Congress when the new-state bill should come before that body. Congressman W. G. Brown indorsed the project,[266] which gained added weight from the positive assertion of the Chicago *Tribune* that, "Congress will not admit a new slave State."[267]

Following the adoption of the constitution and the repudiation of slavery by at least a portion of the electorate,

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[262] February 8, 1862. A half column of the address was copied over into the New York *Post.*—*Daily Intelligencer,* March 7, 1862.
The Battelle resolutions received national attention, and were not unknown to the race which they sought to benefit. The amazing degree to which the Negroes kept informed on events is touched upon by Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (New York, copy 1910), pp. 7-9.
A Washington paper, clipped by The Wellsburg *Herald,* March 28, 1862, put in print the following "Scene Between a Couple of Darky Lovers":
"Well, Sukey, I'se come ober to fix de 'liminaries for our wedden. What time did you say, Sukey, shall we be jined in de holy bonds ob matermony?"
"We must 'fer de wed'n, Jake, til 'bout chrismus two years, so dat makin all 'lowance fur accidents, we may meet the 'mergency of Masser Battelle's dissolution now being 'sidered by de Wheelin' 'Vention."
Jake looks rather despairingly, and concludes to transfer his affections to some one of the African fair sex that is not so solicitous for her posterity.

[263] *Daily Intelligencer,* December 9, 1861.

[264] Alrutheus A. Taylor, "Making West Virginia a Free State," *The Journal of Negro History,* vol. 6, no. 2 (April, 1921), pp. 131-73.

[265] *Daily Intelligencer,* March 10, 1862.

[266] *Idem,* March 13; also March 15, 1862.

[267] Cited in *Idem,* March 19, 1862. For one, editor of the Parkersburg *Gazette* favored a free state.—*Daily Intelligencer,* March 25, 1862.

even the stiffly abolitionist New York *Tribune*, though wishing slavery blotted out at once in accordance with President Lincoln's proposals to the border states, yet felt that Congress should assent to the constitution as it stood. The vote for gradual emancipation was cited, and the *Tribune* concluded, "When matters are going very nearly right, it is not always wise to insist that they shall go a little better."[268]

The final battle in the new-state campaign centered about Washington and the about-face of Senator Carlile dismayed the separatists. Indeed, Campbell confessed:[269]

> . . . the whole matter of a new State begins to pall upon our taste. We begin to feel as if we had been doing the work of Sysiphus—as if all the labor, all the anxiety, all of the expense, and all of the troublous watching and waiting and hoping of our people had gone for nothing.

But the argument, education, and propaganda for a division of Virginia had been well conducted. Altogether more than 30,000 copies of the new constitution were distributed during 1862 and 1863,[270] and by the fall of 1862 the people of the northwest had been won over to the idea of separate statehood.[271] A Democratic war meeting at Littleton, Wetzel County, August 1, in resolving support of the Wheeling *Press* and condemning dictation by Congress as to the constitution, stated as a promise that, "we are as strongly determined and devoted as ever in our resolutions and efforts to have a new State."[272]

Beginning in late July and continuing on into the fall,

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[268] New York *Tribune*, cited in *The Weekly Register* (Point Pleasant), July 10, 1862.
[269] *Daily Intelligencer*, June 27, 1862.
[270] *Idem*, February 24, 1863.
[271] The Wheeling *Press* and the Wellsburg *Herald* both admitted their dislike of the new state project, and both felt compelled to give way to public opinion.
"The few who controlled matters, worked up the minds of the people to such a pitch that they determined to drive their measure through. We acquiesced in the voice of the people."—Wheeling *Daily Press*, September 4, 1862.
"Our views are probably well enough known to be, individually, opposed to the measure under the circumstances; but we have such an abiding faith in the doctrine that the majority may do as they please, that we have nothing to say in opposition. Previous to the last vote on the subject we combatted it with much zeal, if not success, but the voters by an almost unanimous vote, dissented from our views; and we came to the conclusion that possibly they might be right—at any rate, that if so many of them could stand it, we certainly could too."—The Wellsburg *Herald*, November 14, 1862.
[272] Wheeling *Daily Press*, August 4, 1862.

dozens of public meetings convened to listen to new-state speakers, principally Senator Willey and Governor Pierpont, and resolve their condemnation of Senator Carlile.[273] This rising of the people was excellently publicized, and the *Intelligencer* relayed news of the movement to the press of western Virginia and the nation.[274]

That Campbell appreciated the position of his paper as a staple of western Virginia news is indicated by the publication late in 1862 of an editorial more than two columns long, headed, "An Article for Our Exchanges," and outlining "the most prominent links in the chain of events that has brought the new-state measure to its present position before the country."[275] The New York *Tribune* reprinted and commented on one of the *Intelligencer's* pleas for Congressional approval of the new state,[276] and the Washington *Chronicle* was another paper to cite "the touching appeal of the Western Virginians."[277]

The major recrystallization of public opinion during the war years occurred in the early fall of 1862. In August Horace Greeley wrote for his *Tribune* a signed editorial plea for immediate emancipation, addressed to President Lincoln as, "The Prayer of the Twenty Millions."[278] The President's prompt answer, placing preservation of the Union above all other considerations," "changed completely the attitude of many papers which had been previously opposed to the policies of the administration."[279] In Wheeling, the *Press* quoted approvingly a characterization of the President as "the embodied com-

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[273] *Idem*, August 4, 7, 13, September 3, 4, 1862; summaries of the resolutions of meetings in all parts of the state assembled as, "A Blasting Judgment,"—*Daily Intelligencer*, November 31, 1862.

[274] The Norfolk *Union* took from the *Intelligencer*, the "leading journal of that region," an article on Carlile and an account of a West Liberty meeting repudiating him,—*Daily Intelligencer*, August 28, 1862.
The same issue of the *Intelligencer* also had an item from the Cincinnati *Commercial* concerning Carlile's Clarksburg *Telegraph* and a paragraph from the New York *Post* on the death of Gordon Battelle—both evidently inspired by articles printed originally in the *Intelligencer*.

[275] *Daily Intelligencer*, November 27, 1862.

[276] *Idem*, December 4, 1862.

[277] *Idem*, December 8, 1862.

[278] W. Brooke Graves, *Readings in Public Opinion* (New York, 1928), p. 323, calls this "perhaps the best illustration that American history affords of the power of the press through its editorial columns."

[279] Lee, *History of American Journalism*, pp. 295-96. The *Intelligencer*, August 26, 1862, considered it "the most admirable document of the war."

mon sense of the American people."[280] When the Emancipation Proclamation was issued a month later, the reaction of the antiabolitionists was proportionately great. Though the Republican editors testified that western Virginians were "not a caring,"[281] the Wheeling *Press* expressed itself in bitter terms,[282] and it is evident that emancipation and the Willey amendment to the West Virginia constitution alienated the support of many Democrats who had tended to fall in with the new-state project.[283]

Even with the passage of the new-state bill by Congress, West Virginia was not "out of the woods," and the tale of the *Intelligencer's* services continues on a personal note. Since it concerns a matter involved in some confusion, it may best be told in the words of Governor Pierpont:[284]

> But how narrow after all was our escape! But few know how narrow it was. The "restored government of Virginia" had done all in its power in our behalf when it gave its assent to the petition, and Congress had done all in its power when it gave the assent required by the constitution; but there yet remained the indispensable assent of the executive department of the national government, and for a time there was a great uncertainty what its decision would be. The cabinet was equally divided and Mr. Lincoln hesitated. The bill was lingering in his hands when I sent that dispatch which you wrote and I dictated. That, as Mr. Lincoln afterwards told me himself, determined him to sign the bill. Yes, sir, it was that urgent visit of James W. Paxton, E. M. Norton and yourself to my office in the custom house at Wheeling that caused me to send the dispatch that saved the state.

William P. Willey included Campbell with Pierpont and his father as the "three men who were pioneers and

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280 Wheeling *Daily Press*, September 2, 1862.

281 The Wellsburg *Herald*, October 3, 1862; *Daily Intelligencer*, September 30, 1862.

282 Cited in *Daily Intelligencer*, September 27, 1862.

283 The Wellsburg *Herald*, December 19, 1862. J. G. Jacob was at all times more candid and critical in evaluating men and movements than was the editor of the *Intelligencer*. Jacob was the analyst, where the youthful Campbell played the part of a crusader.

284 From Campbell's extended account of two days of reminiscent conversation with the governor, at his home in Fairmont, Pierpont remarked to his old colleague, "What would I have done without the *Intelligencer* in those days? I felt then and feel now that it was the right arm of our movement."—The Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, April 14, 1897.

leaders in the movements, from beginning to end, which resulted in the erection of a new State."[285]

The *Intelligencer* played an indispensable part not only in the making of West Virginia history but likewise in its writing. Virgil A. Lewis, in his study of "How West Virginia Was Made,"[286] devoted the section on sources of information almost entirely to a discussion of Campbell's paper. The best account of the proceedings in the Wheeling convention is comprised in the files of the *Intelligencer*.

In conclusion the author would cite the estimate of a student of the borderland in the Civil War as to the place and function of the principal newspaper treated herein:[287]

> The greatest single contribution of the city to the cause of the Union—not even excepting the military organizations—was the Wheeling *Intelligencer*, a Republican newspaper then under the able editorship of Archibald W. Campbell. He constantly championed the principles of nationalism, appealing to every sentiment and interest that could affect public opinion favorably. In case the state authorities should succeed in their attempt to leave the Union, he pointed out the dangers of invasion from the North, of the loss of industrial prosperity, of the cessation of commercial and manufacturing development, and of the continued domination of the eastern and Southern slavocracy; but he never made the mistake of introducing purely party issues or abolitionist arguments. By printing in full reports and letters from the interior counties, he encouraged the Union men there and made the cause one for the whole northwest and not merely Wheeling. Thus the Republican editor who six months before had been denounced as a mischievous disunionist became one of the most important figures in the movement to save western Virginia for the Union.

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[285] Willey, *An Inside View of the Formation of the State of West Virginia* (Wheeling, 1901), pp. 2-3.
[286] Charleston, 1909.
[287] Edward C. Smith, *The Borderland in the Civil War* (New York, 1927), p. 192.

The Growth of the Presidential Power*

By William E. Brooks

In August 1837, Ralph Waldo Emerson appeared before the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa to deliver the Oration which is known in our literary history as "The American Scholar." It was a time of mid-sea and great things. Andrew Jackson had just laid down the Presidency after eight years of dominance. The Alamo had fallen, the battle of San Jacinto had been fought, the independence of Texas had been acknowledged and "Manifest Destiny" was beginning to assert itself. The question of slavery was becoming the burning question of the hour, in the great debate which was to end with Appomattox, leaving problems that still abide solution. It was quiet there among the ancient buildings as the summer sun beat down on Harvard Yard, but Emerson was not quiet in his heart as looking far beyond Harvard Yard he told those who listened that the time had come "when the sluggard of this continent will look from under its iron lids and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill . . . In the distribution of functions incident thereto the scholar is the delegated intellect. In the right state, he is *Man Thinking*. In this view of him, as Man Thinking, the theory of his office is contained." That office "is to cheer, to raise, and to guide men by showing them facts amid appearances. . . . It is a shame to him if his tranquility, amid dangerous times, arises from the presumption, that, like children and women, his is a protected class; or if he seek a temporary peace by the diversion of his thoughts from

* An address delivered on the occasion of the one hundred and sixty-seventh anniversary of the founding of Phi Beta Kappa before Alpha of West Virginia, at West Virginia University, December 5, 1944.

political or vexed questions, hiding his head like an ostrich in the flowering bushes, peeping into microscopes, and turning rhymes, as a boy whistles to keep his courage up. . . . It is for you to know all, it is for you to dare all."

These words sound the note on which I would begin what I want to say to you tonight in response to the honor you have done me in asking me to be your Orator (the ancient Phi Beta Kappa word), on this anniversary occasion. We too, as in the day when Emerson spoke, are in a time of mid-sea and great things. John Buchan's words describe the emotions which arise within us as we face the future: "I realized that we were at the point of contact with a world vanishing and a world arriving, and that such a situation was apt to crush those who had to meet it. A new world would have to be made, and who would be left to make it." Men probably there were who were thinking that that long gone summer day, and who, accordingly, wanted none of the battle. Then it was that Emerson challenged them to face the problems with clear and careful minds.

With clear and careful minds! How often do we face our problems that way? We know they are there; they press upon us in the night; they confront us when the sun shines again across our hills. What will tomorrow bring? Will it be a day of peace? Of peace with liberty? Or will we let liberty die that we may be secure? And how will we have security? As did the Romans long ago, as weary of striving and anxious for their ease, they called Octavian to be "Princeps," crowning him with the laurel and clothing him with the imperial purple? When we, too, grow weary of thought, when the battle is too long, when the tribute of the earth is ours to enjoy; when the thought persists that it would be easier in a planned economy; when it seems easier to turn the problem of how to live together over to the skilful hand ready to assume it; why wonder about liberty? The world stands out on either side, nearer than ever before, narrower than ever before. Can we ever

have the old freedoms in a world where there is so little room? These are not the fevered mutterings of a sick mind. These are the questions men are asking in their souls, even while we boast that we battle for democracy. Then it is that they need to be reminded of the thing John Philpot Curran flung at his Dublin audience in 1790: "The condition upon which God has given us liberty is eternal vigilance."

When Emerson called upon the American scholar to face the problems of his day and to make his contribution to their solution that thought—and trained thought—alone could make, the struggle that was to decide the next phase of that country's future was on. John C. Calhoun, the former intrepid nationalist, had become the defender of State's Rights, unto the extreme of Secession. And John C. Calhoun was no mean protagonist. If his theories prevailed what was to become of the growing nation? As we recall the record of those days we find the scholar paid little attention to Emerson's warning, and the solution of the problem was left to the demagogue and the politician. Instead of calm thinking in the quiet of the study or the forum, it was bandied about in the dust and confusion of the hustings and it ended in Civil War. An equally momentous issue is before us today. There are some in high places who would lead us down the rosy path that leads to statism under the supposed necessity for a planned society. How will the scholar face the matters there involved? They are not light matters to be brushed aside with a sneer, with an idle quip about "seeing things at night." Fortunately, the downward crash of great cultures and civilizations under the shattering impact of incredibly destructive world war is beginning, if only beginning, to open the eyes of men who have been blind to their implications. We can no longer believe that nothing among us can be touched, that we can go our blithe way enjoying every ancient privilege, the fates forgetting and by the fates forgot. Forgetting most of the fact that if

the disciplined mind neglects its obligations and the undisciplined mind may endeavor to tie life into a neater package than the uneasy complexities of life justify. Hence the call for the services of the disciplined mind, for packages too easily tied have a way of falling apart.

It is not my purpose, nor would it be your wish, to review with you tonight the many factors entering into the problem of tomorrow, which, if he stand ready to heed Emerson's call, the scholar must face. But there is one phase of it of which I will ask you to think, a phase which we have seen developing, perhaps without much thought as to its implications, the growth of the Presidential power. What does it mean if not arrested? The American constitutional system has been likened to a three-legged stool, which only functions at its best when each leg is of equal length and of equal strength. What will be the effect on the other legs if one be permitted to grow more? And on the stool? How much further can the Presidential power be permitted to grow without democracy giving place to some form of dictatorship, benevolent or otherwise? Along with this growth, we have seen, not once but twice, the flaunting of the tradition that limited the holding of the great office to two terms. What does this mean to tomorrow? As we face the implications of this epochal change—and it is an epochal change!—there come to mind the words of Pierce Butler of South Carolina in the Convention of 1787, in the long drawn out debate on the powers to be granted the Executive. He said: "It has been observed that in all countries the executive power is in a constant course of increase. This was certainly the case in Great Britain. Gentlemen seemed to think we had nothing to fear from the abuse of the executive power. But why might not a Cataline or a Cromwell arise in this country as well as in others?"

Mr. Butler poses a question which ought to be faced without partisanship, or any too tender regard for personalities, as the scholar seeks to understand what tomorrow

might be if there be no check to the growth of this ever vaster power.

What that growth has been will be better understood by seeking to revive our memories as to the intentions of the Fathers who gave us that remarkable document we call the Constitution; and then tracing briefly what has happened to the executive power in the hands of strong men, and how it has grown in the century and a half of our existence as a nation.

They met to frame the Constitution while the Hanoverian kings and their Tory ministers were concentrating power in fewer hands. We meet while Statism in one manifestation is being crushed, but in the struggle to do so others of its hydra heads gain strength even among us.

The executive power is the oldest of governmental functions. Its origin has been briefly and brilliantly portrayed by Professor Corwin of Princeton in his monograph, *The President: Office and Powers:* "The origin of government has been sometimes traced to a monarch who gathered in his person all power. At length, wearied with his responsibilities, the hypothetical potentate delegated some of them to followers who eventually became 'courts,' and shared others with a more numerous body of subjects who in due time organized themselves into a 'legislature.' The indefinite residuum, called 'executive powers' he kept himself."

The history of government largely gathers about the effort of his successors, call them what you will, king, emperor, first consul or president, to retrieve for himself some of the relinquished powers; and the efforts of courts and legislatures to resist such gathering, further enlivened by an occasional revolution, where the people enter.

The colonial period of our history is filled with records of this clash between the executive power represented by the royal governors and the power of the people in the assemblies. Gradually the power of the assemblies forged ahead. "The colonial period," says Corwin, "ended with

the belief that the executive magistracy was the natural enemy, the legislative assembly the natural friend of liberty, a sentiment strengthened by the contemporary spectacle of George III's domination of Parliament." The men making up the Convention that met in Philadelphia were fully conversant with the excesses of royal rule as it was exemplified by the Hanoverian princes known to history as the Four Georges. And as well were they familiar with the philosophy of rule which they held, coming from the absolutism of that petty German principality. The Convention further recognized the need of a strong executive authority if a nation was to be shaped out of the thirteen disparate commonwealths, separated by distances that were immense and by ideas as formidable. The futilities of the Continental Congress were too recent for them to have any other conception. But always in the background of their minds as they addressed themselves to meeting this need was the warning of the Georges, and their Tory abettors. Says Madison in Federalist 48: "A respect for truth obliges us to remark that they seem never for a moment to have turned their eyes from the danger to liberty from the overgrown and all-grasping prerogative of an hereditary branch of the legislative authority." So great did this danger seem to them who had felt the hands of an autocratic king and his lords that they debated long and earnestly as to how to assure the strong executive the country needed if it was to be a country, and at the same time preserve that liberty for which the war had been fought and the ties broken that bound them to the mother country. No subject demanded the attention of the Convention at greater length than this problem of how to secure a strong executive, and at the same time limit his powers so as to prevent tyranny. Lord Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* makes a pertinent observation on the depth of their purpose: "Some one has said that the American Government and Constitution was founded on the theology of Calvin and the philosophy of

Hobbes. This at least is true, that there is a hearty Puritanism in the view of human nature which pervades the instrument of 1787. It was the work of men who believed in original sin, and were resolved to leave open for tyranny no door which they could possibly shut." And a statement of John Marshall's in his *Life of Washington,* dealing with the convention, might be added: "That power might be abused was deemed a conclusive reason why it should be denied."

It might be well to refresh our minds with the results of their efforts to reconcile the irreconcilable, to insure a strong nation with a strong executive and at the same time keep him from being too strong. The sections of Article II dealing with the powers of the executive are as follows:

> **Section I.**
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> **1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the Term of four years, etc.**
>
> **Section II.**
>
> **1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have power to Grant Reprieves and pardons against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.**
>
> **2. He shall have the Power by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law invest the appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in heads of Departments.**
>
> **Section III.**
>
> **He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information on the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and**

> expedient; he may, on extra-ordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper: he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

In addition to the powers above enumerated, Article I, Section 7, contains provisions dealing with the power of veto. It will be readily recognized that the long debates in the Convention did not result in any too specific enactments.

With this instrument as its Charter the new Nation took its place in history, replacing the obsolete Confederation. In the earlier administrations the executive power was finding itself. Washington ruled by right of the peculiar place that he held in the people's affections, in what has been called a "quasi-monarchial manner." With the revolution of 1800 and the coming of Jefferson the trappings of monarchy were banished. Jefferson took his place as the leader of the party behind the revolution. He is even alleged to have presided over party caucuses in the Congress. The presidential power, as such, was accordingly weakened and of decidedly less importance than that of the legislature in the succeeding administrations.

But the election of Jackson brought a striking personality and an impetuous temper to the conduct of the office. He came to power by another political revolution, as did Lincoln and the second Roosevelt, the two who followed him in greatly enhancing the power of the Executive. At such times the people demand change, and they are not particular how it is brought about or how far-reaching it is. Jackson's skill in organizing his party behind him, his daring in appealing to the adoring people over the heads of the Congressional leaders, made it possible for him greatly to enlarge the executive power. His claims are set forth in his famous veto message of July 10, 1832, returning the bill for the rechartering of the Bank of the United States:

> The Congress, the Executive and the Court must each of itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer who takes oath to support the Constitution swears that he will support it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval as it is of the supreme judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of the Congress has over the judges, and on that point the opinion of the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve.

With this view of his prerogative, it is not hard to understand why Jackson called few Cabinet meetings. In fact he had little use for a Cabinet to which he would turn for counsel or to whose collective wisdom he felt bound to yield in any degree. In this he was followed by Lincoln. And the word that comes from Washington is that the present Cabinet meetings are little more than friendly gatherings, which the President does not always attend.

Henry Clay, watching Jackson's impetuous sway, lamented "the concentration of all power in the hands of one man," but there was little that the Congress could do to hinder the process. The very indefiniteness of Article II made it possible for the President's reach only to be limited by his grasp in every matter that was not forbidden. Abel Upshur, in an essay on "Federal Government," appearing in 1840, writes:

> The most defective part of the Constitution, beyond all question, is that which relates to the Executive Department. It is impossible to read that instrument without being struck with the loose and unguarded terms in which the powers and duties of the President are pointed out . . . In regard to the Executive the Convention appears to have studiously selected such loose and general expressions as would enable the President, by implication and construction, either to neglect his duties or to enlarge his powers. We have heard it gravely

> asserted in Congress that whatever power is neither legislative nor judiciary is of course executive, and, as such, belongs to the President under the Constitution.

Whether Upshur was right or not theoretically seems to have made no practical difference. The fact is that strong presidents have acted as though he were. Outstanding is the case of Lincoln. Confronted as he was by the most serious crisis in the nation's history—threatening as it did the nation's very life—he had to find some way for doing quickly the thing that had to be done; for well he knew the wide cleavages in Congress and the bitter acerbities that tainted the minds of its leaders and hindered constructive action. So he found in the commander-in-chief clause of Article II, along with the executive power clause, the reasons which satisfied him that the "war power" was his, that as President, in an emergency, he had extraordinary powers which even the Congress did not possess. So he declared, in discussing his disapproval of the Wade-Davis Reconstruction bill in 1864: "I conceive that I may in an emergency do things on military grounds which constitutionally cannot be done by Congress." Lord Bryce speaks of his exercise of powers as "almost as much in excess of those enjoyed under the ordinary law as the authority of a Roman dictator exceeded that of a Roman consul." There is an incident related by Lord Charnwood which shows how far down the Roman way the President was willing to go when he thought it necessary. It was during the struggle for the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. "With the knowledge he was always acquiring of the persons in politics, he had been able to pick out two Democratic Congressmen who were fit for his purpose—presumably they lay under suspicion of one of those treasonable practices which martial law under Lincoln treated very unceremoniously. He sent for them. He told them that the gaining of a certain number of votes would secure the Resolution. He told them that he was President of the United States. He told them that the

President of the United States in war time exercised great and terrible powers. And he told them he looked to them personally to get him those votes."

It is impossible to say how much Lincoln was influenced in the shaping of this course of conduct by the opinions of the Solicitor of the War Department, William Whiting, whose views are found in his well-known volume, *War Powers of the President*. Beginning with the proposition that "amidst arms the laws are silent" he contends that "in time of war the President's powers range over the entire country and are subject to no constitutional limit whatever." A practical confirmation of this claim by the Supreme Court was had in its decision in the Prize Cases of 1863. Not until the emergency had passed with the ending of the War, and Lincoln was in his grave, did the Court in the Milligan decision undertake to limit these War Powers to the direction of the armies and fleets which Congress causes to be raised. Yet Professor Corwin observes, in some acid comments on the majority opinion: "To suppose that such fustian would be of greater influence in determining procedure in a future great emergency than precedents backed by the monumental reputation of Lincoln would be childish." We have witnessed many evidences that Professor Corwin was correct in his deduction.

Lincoln's successor was an inept politician, and with Lincoln's passing the Radical leaders in the Congress consolidated their power, stripping the Executive of much. It cannot be established that they used the return of power with much discretion. It is not necessary to trace how other strong men in the years since have taken power unto themselves in what seemed emergencies. The doctrine of "Emergency," like charity, covers a multitude of sins. Cleveland's drastic and effective defiance action in the Pullman strike of 1894; Wilson's defiance of the Congress in arming merchantmen against submarine attack before we entered the first World War, after Congress had re-

fused him the power to do so; stand out as instances of declaring emergency to secure the ends desired. And there is no one here who does not remember the dark days when Franklin Roosevelt took power, and with energetic hand began to meet the issues thrust upon him with effective but astounding procedures. We have witnessed with amazed eyes since then the continuous concentration of powers in Washington in the hands of the President and his appointees, powers which have touched and reshaped the commonest practices of our days, while Congress was either co-operative, quiescent or feebly protesting.

As we look back on this steady growth of executive power there is a comment of Seward's (more than faintly reminiscent of things he had witnessed as Lincoln's Secretary of State) which comes to mind; "We elect a king for four years and give him absolute power within certain limits, which after all he can interpret for himself." These limits have proven amazingly elastic in the hands of strong men. What then of the future? Fortunately for the freedom which we prize, the men who have filled the executive office in the great emergencies through which we have passed have not been men who used their powers for their personal aggrandizement. But suppose a perilous hour should come in the days ahead, and the man in the White House should be of the sort which, unhappily, is not unknown in our public life (but happily is not too well known), a man brilliant of mind, avid for power, daring in his calculations, and his conscience well anesthetized with the subtlest of all soporifices, self-interest—what could he not do with the slowly accumulated powers which would be his?

It is plainly evident that power is needed in executive hands, for no one knows when an emergency may arise in a world which seems sure to be unsettled and uncertain for at least another generation. A denial of powers to the Executive through constitutional change might impair the Presidential ability to meet a sudden crisis. Is there

then no way in which we can meet the situation set forth by Professor Corwin as he brings his great treatise to a close:

> As matters stand today presidential power is dangerously personalized, and this in two senses: first, that the leadership which it affords is dependent altogether on the accident of personality, against which our haphazard method of selecting Presidents offers no guarantee; and secondly, that there is no governmental body which can be relied on to give the President independent advice and which he is bound to consult.

Nor can we overlook in thinking about it the stern warning of Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania in the debate in that branch during the First Congress:

> If the virtues of the present Chief Executive are brought forward as a reason for vesting him with extraordinary powers, no nation ever trod more dangerous ground. His virtues will depart with him, but the powers which you give him will remain and if not properly guarded will be abused by future Presidents—if they are men.

What then remains? The germ of the answer is to be found in a speech made by George Mason of Virginia in the convention on July 28, 1787, in the debate on Article II:

> He conceived that a second election ought to be absolutely prohibited. Having for his primary object—for the polar star of his political conduct—the preservation of the rights of the people, he held it as an essential point, as the very palladium of civil liberty, that the great officers of State and particularly the Executive, should at fixed periods return to the mass from which they were first taken, in order that they may feel and respect those rights and interests which are again to be personally valuable to them.

A senator from Texas put George Mason's idea more tersely, and perhaps more acidly when, in the last campaign, he wrote: "The President ought to be elected for only one term and then compelled to go back to private life and try to earn a living under the laws he had made."

A constitutional amendment, of the sort proposed by

Andrew Jackson (who having exercised the powers knew what could be done with them), limiting tenure to one term of six years, or if that could not be had, to two terms of the present length, would make it impossible for one man to hold office too long—with all that may follow from it—the growth of a palace cabal subservient only to the master's will, and saying "yes" to every whim; and what is more perilous, the removal of any likelihood of judicial restraint on Executive action through the courts being filled by those whom he has appointed, and who represent his political philosophy or that political opportunism which is the absence of any philosophy. It is not hard to imagine the rise of such a situation unless long continued tenure be barred. For as Jefferson warned: "Indefinite re-eligibility would so undermine the elective system that while the office would remain nominally elective it would be in fact for life and degenerate into an inheritance."

It might be well in conclusion to take a glance at the conditions which made it possible for a popular President to set aside the tradition so long established of two terms as the limit. Was it that he was a more brilliant political manager than his predecessors? If so it is not to his discredit, for the Presidency is a political office, and requires political adeptness. Was it then the War which provided the occasion? Surely that was a great factor, but not the basic one. *That* was a change of atmosphere brought about by many things—the better organization of blocs by able men who knew what they wanted; the increase of the sense that what men want for themselves is more important than the good of the whole; security, their security, the security of their group, a greater prize than liberty; the failure to realize that liberty cannot be stratified; that the checks and balances of the American system apply to all and benefit all. And what is perhaps the most important factor of it all, and the most perilous, a willingness on the part of local political units to avoid the facing of local responsibilities and the consequent easy passing of them on to

Washington. Liberty means responsibility. It does not maintain itself. When a people refuses responsibility for dealing with their own problems he who assumes them must have authority to meet them. The consequence may be government *of* the people *for* the people but it is not *by* the people. Nor is it likely long to be *for* the people. The Republic—the *res publica*, the thing of all the people—is no more theirs.

That these conditions are so are not Franklin Roosevelt's fault. It is the result of many things in the years before him—bad government or stupid government, especially in the local units; bad teaching; lack of vision on the part of those who should have been wise; the failure of the citizen to comprehend his responsibility as steward of a treasure, which men had died that he might possess; industrial war with consequent class consciousness; a society out of balance; and a great fear that the only rule of life that worked was *postremum diabolus rapist.*

But suppose that in this situation Huey Long had come into the Executive office—as well he might have done had he lived—and had thrown away what few scruples he had left, had played on all the fears, exploited all the hatreds, built a great personal machine, surrounding himself with the reckless and the daring, and so controlled every election. What is there under the Constitution as it stands at present to prevent his being elected not alone for four terms but for ten terms, as Porfirio Diaz was in Mexico?

Surely here is a weakness in our political structure, a problem demanding the attention of the scholar, the man who, in any walk of life who has taught himself to think. Surely it is in the province of such men, a part of their responsibility, that they should face its implications. "It is a shame to him,"—and cannot you see that thin patrician nose of Emerson's curl in scorn as he says it?—"it is a shame to him if his tranquility, amid dangerous times, arises from the presumption that, like children and women, his is a protected class." Scholars did not find themselves

a protected class when the madness swept Europe and tyranny reigned supreme.

As I think of it I hear the challenge flung at scholars on the occasion of another Phi Beta Kappa anniversary at Harvard, the centennial of the founding of our ancient and honorable society. Wendell Phillips was the Orator, and he bore in his body the marks of many a battle for liberty. Again he was sounding Emerson's old demand that the scholar come out of his ivory tower and declare anew the ideas which alone perpetuate liberty. So he said:

> I urge on college men, that, as a class, they fail in republican duty when they allow others to lead in the agitation of the great social questions which stir and educate the age . . . The agitator must stand outside of organizations, with no bread to earn, no candidate to elect, no party to save, no object but truth—to tear a question open and riddle it with light . . . These agitations are the opportunities God offers us to refine the taste, mould the character, lift the purpose, and educate the moral sense of the masses, on whose intelligence and self-respect rests the state. God furnishes these texts, He gathers for us this audience and only asks of our coward lips to preach the sermon.

To tear that question open and riddle it with light! At what higher task can any scholar serve? And in what holier cause than that of liberty?

Two Famous Springs of Eastern West Virginia

By Thomas Marshall Hunter

It is not inconceivable that when George Washington first visited the springs of Virginia later to be known as Bath he visualized their possibilities as a health resort. Certainly it can be said that much of the fame which they later attracted was due to the recommendations which he voiced. His first trip was on Friday, March 18, 1748, when, accompanied by Jacob van Braam and George William Fairfax, he camped near them while on a survey of Fairfax lands.[1] Confirming his belief in the efficacy of the waters there, he next visited them on July 31, 1769, when he and Mrs. Washington and Patsy Custis came in hopes of benefiting the latter's health. Another visit was made on October 1, 1771. Colonel Washington made many acquaintances, among whom were the Baron and Baroness de Reidesil and a Captain Geismar. Baron de Reidesil was a Hessian officer who had removed from Charlottesville to recuperate his health.

Logically much time elapsed between visits. When Washington made his next visit, September 4, 1784, he was a general and the most revered patriot in America. After first visiting his brothers' homes in Jefferson County he came on to Bath where he was shown a model of James Rumsey's ingenious boat.[2] At the same time he planned with Rumsey for the erection of a dwelling house, kitchen, and stable on his lots.[3]

In 1784, the resort had five bathing houses with adja-

[1] Washington, *Diaries*, (Fitzpatrick Ed.) I, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 282-284.
[3] Archer Butler Hulbert, *Washington and the West*, pp. 29-35.
(The house was to be 24x36 with a gallery of 7 feet on each side. The first floor to have 2 rooms, largest 26x30 with chimney at end. The upper floor to have 2 rooms of equal size, 18x22. The kitchen and stable to be 18x22.)

cent dressing rooms. Looking about the grove one could also see the assembly room and a theatre advertised for the "innocent and rational amusement of the polite who may assemble there."[4]

General Washington made his last visit to Bath on October 14 and 15, 1794, accompanied by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and Bartholomew Dandridge. On this trip it is said that he stayed at the boarding house of the writer's paternal forbear, Captain John Hunter.[5]

Another distinguished visitor to Bath was Bishop Francis Asbury who although he found the waters most beneficial also observed the following in his diary: "My soul has communion with God even here. When I behold the conduct of the people who attend the springs, particularly the gentry, I am led to thank God that I was not born to riches; I rather bless God that I am not in hell and that I cannot partake of pleasure with sinners."[6]

One of the pernicious habits which Bishop Asbury no doubt alluded to was the imbibing of deep potations of mint julep and other spiritous mixtures after coming from the bath.

In the summer of 1791, Bath was visited by a Captain Ferdinand Marie Bayard and his family.[7] Captain Bayard was a young retired captain of artillery who had become a traveler. He was a member of the Society of Sciences, Letters and Arts of France. Captain Bayard spoke highly of the springs and said that he had seen many come to Bath "fearfully rheumatic who had to be carried to the spring at first, and in three weeks were able to walk with a crutch." The young women at Bath rode about a great deal, he said. At his boarding house were several extremely pious people who said that eating was not to satisfy

[4] The theatre had a group of play comedians under a Manager Ryan.
[5] His family was originally from Hunterston, Scotland. He married Delilah Gustine of a French Huguenot family from the Isle of Jersey.
[6] Visited Bath in July 1785, August 1788, and August 1789.
[7] Wrote a book of his travels and had it published in Paris in 1798—*Voyage dans l'interieur des Etats-Unis a Bath, Winchester, dans la valee de Shenandahoa pendant l'ete de* 1791. Translation in J. P. Bell's (Ed.) *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*, pp. 81-91.

the appetite but who certainly contradicted it by the amount which they ate.

It was the custom to drink tea at five o'clock, and everything was very ceremonious. At the right of the lady dispensing tea were ranged in a half circle the other ladies who maintained a profound silence as each new guest arrived. A small acajou table was placed before the tea dispenser, and silver pots contained the coffee and the hot water which served to weaken the tea or to receive the cups. A domestic brought on a silver waiter the cup, the sugar dish, the cream pot, the butter balls and the thin slices of ham.

In sending back the cup it was necessary to place the spoon in such a manner as to indicate whether or not it should be refilled. "One Frenchman on one occasion," said Captain Bayard, "being unfamiliar with this custom, became overcome at seeing the sixteenth cup arrive and dreading a seventeenth hit upon the idea of stowing the cup in his pocket."

At the springs was a troupe of Irish comedians who alternately acted as emperors, shepherds, clowns and undoubtedly were very badly fed. The young man who played the lover found great difficulty in pronouncing his consonants. About this time a gentleman with a Faro bank arrived, and he was treated with great courtesy. It nevertheless happened that every planter who arrived at Bath with equippage and attendants went home with nothing but a horse and a very mean horse at that.

In the summer of 1824, William H. Crawford visited Bath but found the waters impotent to give relief in his illness. In 1827, Henry Clay, then Secretary of State under the younger Adams, took refuge from his enemies and visited his friends in Berkeley County. On the day that he made the trip to Bath, he and his party stopped at Halfway House Tavern (Snodgrass Tavern) kept by one Dick Sheckles. Dick was a man of enormous proportions, fat and unwieldy and said to have weighed about 400 pounds.

Mr. Clay and his party found the old landlord sitting in the shade before the house, indulging in the usual habit of keeping himself cool by burying his feet in the earth and piling it up almost to his knees. The arrival of the carriage did not disturb him in the least, and when Mr. Clay was presented to him, the old man gazed at the tall, spare, and erect figure and reputedly said: "Did you say this was Henry Clay of Kentucky? Why I thought he was a great big man like a king." "No, Mr. Sheckles," said Mr. Clay, "you are more kingly in your proportions than I am. You see in me nothing but a broken down public servant worn almost to a skeleton by State and the calumnies of my enemies."[8]

Sometime in 1842, a duel between Governor Francis Thomas and William Price took place. William Lucas was second for Governor Thomas while Reverdy Johnson was Mr. Price's second. Dr. Nathan R. Smith, "The Emperor of the Medical Profession," was the surgeon for the occasion. Fortunately his services were not required, and after one exchange of shots between the principals, an honorable adjustment was made by the cool and stern Mr. Lucas. Mr. Johnson wrote the terms on the crown of Mr. Lucas' hat.[9]

In late August, 1848, President James K. Polk made a visit to the springs, stopping at Strother's Hotel. General Washington's house was still standing at that time, said the President.

An episode which the President never forgot was when he was denied the right to a seat on the only carriage between Bath and the depot. This unusual attitude towards the President was due, it is believed, to the fact that the hotel proprietor was a violent Federalist and very vindictive. Through a new acquaintance, Colonel Harmonson, the President secured transportation to the depot at Han-

[8] Vernon F. Aler, *History of Martinsburg and Berkeley County*, pp. 108-109.
[9] Bernard E. Hunter of "Quisisana" (Berkeley Springs) and Pittsburgh is the owner of the two large Chinese vases which Reverdy Johnson had among his furnishings while he was ambassador to the Court of St. James.

cock. Two young men, a Mr. Davis and a Captain Boyle, offered President Polk their seats on the carriage, but the latter declined on the ground that he had come to the springs only as an ordinary citizen and would thus not be put to any great inconvenience.

On Saturday afternoon, August 26, 1848, the President had tried the famous waters, but, contrary to most other cases, had found no beneficial results. In the course of the afternoon, he had been introduced to many of the visitors, ladies and gentlemen, and to some of the people living in the village and adjacent country. That evening there was dancing in the large dining room. The President attended the ball but remained for only about an hour, then retired for the night.[10]

Though President Polk received discourteous treatment at the hands of the hotel proprietor, he spoke highly of the hotel management and the handsomeness of the grounds. According to his diary, the dining hour was 2:20 o'clock and a great deal of form and ceremony was observed.

On Sunday the President accompanied by Senator Johnson, Judge Daniel, Dr. Foltz, S. P. Walker and Colonel Harmonson attended divine services in the small Methodist church. The Reverend Dr. Laurie of the Presbyterian church preached a good sermon.

During Polk's stay at Bath, Colonel Harmonson, one of the leading citizens of the town and a Democrat, was very attentive to Polk. He expressed the regret to the President that the latter had stopped at Strother's Hotel.[11] "I did," says the President, "as he informed me Strother was a violent Federalist and very vindictive." Colonel Harmonson introduced the President to many people, particularly to two Methodist preachers, Whitmore and Tyson, who came in from the country.

The O'Ferralls who also owned a hotel had sent an invitation to the President at Cumberland to stop with them,

[10] Polk, *Diary*, pp. 97-104.
[11] *Ibid.* The proprietor of Strother's Hotel was John Strother.

but since arrangements had been left to his physician, Dr. Foltz, it had not been accepted.

On Monday, after paying a short visit to Colonel Harmonson's family, the President left with his party for Hancock. Arriving at the depot, he met Andrew J. Polk of Tennessee who was on his way to Raleigh. Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, was also at the station on his return trip to Washington.

In 1852 one of the most eminent citizens of Bath was the famous David Hunter Strother, known to the literary world as "Porte Crayon." He was a friend of Washington Irving, who, it is said, wrote a part of his *Life of Washington* there. In the latter's *Letters* there is a letter to John Pendleton Kennedy, another famous Virginia author, about the distinguished old Philip Pendleton who was agent for General Washington in that part of Virginia.

During five years as a student in Europe, David Hunter Strother studied painting in Florence. General Strother, commissioned during the Civil War, used his nom-de-plume for his artistic and literary contributions to *Harper's Monthly*. One of his best works was *Virginia Illustrated*. Strother's daughter, Emily, by his first wife, Emily Randolph, married Brisbane Walker, a writer for Scribner's and who later purchased Washington Irving's home on the Hudson. Isobel Walker Soule, who is the daughter of the eldest son of Emily Strother and John Brisbane Walker, is writing a biography of Brisbane Walker.

"Porte Crayon" described the baths of the 1870's as "probably not excelled by any in the world." He further described the baths as follows: "The gentlemen's swimming bath is 60 feet long by 20 feet wide, and contains about 50,000 gallons. There is a smaller swimming bath for the ladies, besides about thirty private plunges, douche, and shower baths. The natural temperature of the water is 74° Fahrenheit. The bath houses are surrounded by a

beautiful grove; and a fine hotel, capable of accommodating four hundred persons, adjoins the public grounds. These waters are said to be specific in cases of chronic rheumatism and useful in many other maladies. They mix kindly with old Monongahela, and the baths are said to equal the waters of Lethe in washing away all remembrances of a spree."[12]

Space permits only brief mention of some of the many other noted persons connected with the history of the springs at Bath. Beverly Tucker, falsely accused as an accomplice of the crazed Wilkes Booth, lived at Bath for a time. The society of the springs was particularly brilliant in the 1880's, and for twenty or thirty years thereafter. W. W. Rockhill, minister plenipotentiary to China and an important figure in many United States diplomatic missions, had a large residence on the top of Warm Spring Ridge. The house has since been destroyed,[13] and the property is in possession of Harry P. Bridges of the famous Woodmont Rod and Gun Club. Mr. Rockhill had many noted guests at his Bath estate. Among them was Baron von Keteler who was said to have been the first foreign victim of the Boxer Uprising.[14] A prominent family which has been intimately connected with Bath is the family of Admiral Frederick May Wise. His son, Colonel Frederick May Wise, was a distinguished officer in the United States Marine Corps and collaborated with Meigs O. Frost in the book, *A Marine Tells It to You.* One of Colonel Wise's sisters is the Duchess de Richelieu, of New York City, who visited occasionally in Bath to be with her mother.

Other resort elite were Mr. and Mrs. S. T. Suit, who built the "Castle"; the Nicholas Biddles, the Dents (kin of President Grant); the Pendletons, the Van Rensalaers, the Creightons, the Breeses, and Herbert Quick, the author, whose estate "Coolfont" was in Cold Run Valley

[12] Strother, *Virginia Illustrated;* James Morton Callahan, *West Virginia Old and New* (Chicago, 1923), p. 241.
[13] Demolished because the upper floor was damaged by fire.
[14] Related to the writer by Mrs. Sallie C. Horn, Berkeley Springs.

near Bath.[15] The most recent visitor of note was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt who came to visit the hospital for crippled children.

Of as noted a past as Bath is Capon Springs located approximately 22 miles southwest of Winchester, Virginia. It is said that George Washington also made the survey of the lands there. In October 1787, the town of Watson was established and 20 acres were laid out in lots.

When the Civil War broke out the Trustees of Capon Springs were in debt $8,000. Virginia ordered the place sold to liquidate the debt. Later, however, the sale was annulled, and, when the boundary between Virginia and West Virginia was established, the property came into possession of West Virginia. President James K. Polk is said to have once dedicated the site. President Franklin Pierce visited there. Two of the most illustrious visitors were Daniel Webster and Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer. The father of the late J. P. Morgan, Jr., was a trustee of the springs but vacated his office by going to Europe.[16]

The main building was erected in 1849 by Buck, Blackemore and Ricord at a cost of $75,000. The oval pool with constantly changing water, is beautiful and unusual. The bath pavilion is still standing. There are also adequate hotel and cottage facilities today. Above the springs is a nine hole golf course. Many members of the present *beau monde* go there for rest and recreation.

In the summer of 1897, a gentleman of the ministry, Edward Abbott, rector of Saint James' Parish, Cambridge, Massachusetts, made an extended tour of the eastern portion of the South. On his way he interviewed leaders and visited schools. For many years he had been a member of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House of Mr. Albert K. Smiley.

The Reverend Abbott was struck by such problems among the people of the South, particularly among the

[15] The omission of any person's name is unintentional. The names of many could be included if space permitted.

[16] Thomas M. Hunter, *Capon Springs, Birthplace of the Southern Education Movement* (A brochure).

workers, as isolation, lack of co-ordination of endeavor, co-operation and stimulation. It was in this way that he conceived the idea of organizing a conference, similar to those he had taken part in before in behalf of the Indians, to give consideration to the needs of the South in education.

One day in the summer of 1897, the Reverend Abbott made a short visit to the celebrated Capon Springs. He was impressed by the beauty and picturesqueness of the place and also by its peacefulness. He decided that this was just the place to start the educational conference which he had in mind. Soon he had interested the hotel owner in sending out invitations to a selected list of thirty-four guests to assemble and meet with him the following summer for the purpose of discussing and considering the needs of Christian education in the South.[17]

The following summer that small group did meet, and Bishop T. U. Dudley was the presiding officer. The conference was general in object rather than particular. There were few resolutions, and voting was eliminated in so far as possible. Yet there was to be found there a "rare spirit of concord." Discussions were soon under way, and important papers were read. Educational experts gave testimony and advice. Some of the higher educational institutions such as the University of Virginia and Washington and Lee showed an interest in the conference. Of great influence was Dr. A. D. Mayo who through much travel and observation over a period of years had familiarized himself with conditions both in the North and the South. He gave patient study to the subject of common school education in respect to its best application to the varied requirements of the Southern people. A universal "message and appeal" was made by the conference to arouse the interest of both northern and southern benefactors. When Bishop Burton closed the conference, particular mention

[17] *Ibid.*

was made in his prayer for "our soldiers before Santiago."[18]

The second conference in 1898 was presided over by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, agent for the Peabody Fund. It is difficult to know just who attended the second conference, but the following were among those who attended all three: George Foster Peabody, R. Fulton Cutting, Seth Low, Hugh H. Hanna, Richard Watson Gilder, Lyman Abbott, Walter Hines Page, Felix Adler, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. From northern universities and colleges came Dean Russell of Teachers College in New York, Professor Henry W. Farnam of Yale, and Truman J. Bachus of Packer Institute. From bureaus of education in civil government came Dr. William T. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education, and others.[19]

The time was ripe for a conference of this nature, for events were taking place in the field of world affairs which would produce more cordial feelings between the North and the South. The outstanding event of the second conference was an address by Dr. Curry. The address would have had great weight for its eloquence alone, but the power in it lay in the convictions of a person who had been a guiding light for years in southern affairs. As a result of his speech, a field agent to study conditions and report was appointed. It further caused the conference to direct its energies towards the aim of universal education by means of state established, controlled and supported schools.[20]

Another guiding light was William L. Wilson whose name is so familiar to Jefferson Countians.[21] His greatest work was in the third conference. Also attending the second conference was General Henry, lately returned from a tour of service in Puerto Rico as governor-general. General Henry gave a narrative report of the beginning of

[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Dr. Festus P. Summers, West Virginia University, is writing a biography of William L. Wilson. (See Millard K. Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County*, pp. 311-313, for a biographical sketch.)

American educational methods in the new colony. Mrs. Henry also spoke on woman's work in Puerto Rico.

The conference was beset with problems. Conditions in the South were totally unlike those of the North. There was only a city here and there; people were scattered in isolation; traditions were unfavorable; habits of illiteracy were too widely existent; and on every hand they had the question of two races to complicate everything, "every law, usage, and principle of action."[22]

The field agent immediately began work. Statistical investigations were made. The earliest bulletins of the latest census were carefully examined. Movements of population, growth of cities and towns, the proportion of native and foreign born, the proportion of whites and Negroes, the literacy and illiteracy of different elements, and other such problems were studied. A bureau of information of the Southern Education Board was established in Knoxville under the direction of the University of Tennessee. Educational campaigns were thus carried on all over the South. Notable among these were those of North Carolina in 1902, Georgia and Tennessee in 1904, Virginia in 1903, Arkansas and Florida in 1908, and Alabama and Mississippi in 1905. Much legislation was changed as a result. Taxation for public education was increased, and there was a new interest in the development of high schools, consolidation of small rural schools, better school buildings, and new teacher-training institutions. Walter Hines Page, later ambassador to the Court of St. James, contributed much to the cause when he opened people's eyes to "The Forgotten Man."[23]

In 1900 a small group of educational enthusiasts under the leadership of Robert C. Ogden, a great New York merchant, met at Capon Springs. Each year Mr. Ogden chartered a train and invited a hundred or so of leading professional people to be his guests on a tour of the South.

[22] Hunter, *Capon Springs.*
[23] *Ibid.*

Sometimes they stopped for days in a city or town to hold meetings. At the third conference, William L. Wilson was an invalid and greatly enfeebled by the disease which was to later bring his life to a close. Wilson's important contribution was his changing the current of conviction in most of those present on the vitally important subject of Federal aid to public schools. We of today can readily see that this question today is not a new question but the recurrence of an old one.[24]

The next conference was called for Winston-Salem. A great work had been begun, and it was to result in a much better system of education for the South. A study of these conferences and the order with which their leaders attacked their problems may well impel us to continue their splendid work. Much remains to be done not only in the South but throughout our country. The peace which comes will give us the challenge and the opportunity to move forward in the field of public education.

The educators of today may emulate their forbears by retreating from the hub-bub of the city to the mountain resorts for conferences such as were held in the past. Only recently a major conference was held at famous Harper's Ferry.

While Bath and Capon Springs never had the renown of White Sulphur Springs or Saratoga, they ranked among the foremost in the lesser spas of America. It is hoped that these resorts may be honored in the future by the presence of educational leaders assembled to discuss the educational problems of the day.

[24] *Ibid.*

The Ledger of the McClure Trading Post, Wheeling on the Ohio in Virginia

By O. D. Lambert

By protective care and good fortune the old account book kept at the McClure Trading Post at Wheeling on the Ohio in Virginia has been handed down from generation to generation through some one hundred forty years. The Post was set up by Richard and Samuel McClure who had found need of a place to carry on trade on the border of the settlement. It may be seen even now that all entries were carefully and skilfully kept of the trading that was done at McClure's.

Within the brown leather backs of the old ledger it may be observed that the entries were written in bold oval letters and that the names of the pioneer tradesmen who came to exchange their wares are scrolled at the heading of each page in the wide flourishes of a master penman. The ink, as well as the style of writing, was of a superior quality for now more than a hundred years have passed and its legibility is not even blurred. Every leaf is in its original place. Treasure hunters would have violated proper decorum by clipping some of the choice pages from the venerable volume but such rudeness was restrained.

Every inch of the old book tells important history. The decorated leather binding, impaired more by age than by usage, tells its own story. The enduring paper, resisting the devastation of a century and two-score years, makes up in quality for all that it lacks in finish. Its fiber though browned by years is still tough. And the style of writing, to which reference was just made, is emblematic of the age in which this script was penned. In those days good penmanship was considered quite an accomplishment, especially on the frontier. The lasting colors of the black and red ink stand today as a testimonial to their enduring quality. In addition to all this, the entries of the accounts followed

by the apt explanatory comments prove to be the most fascinating features of the whole book.

There is a sudden yet gratifying reaction experienced by the reader as he turns through the pages and reads that Stephen Forster (Foster) purchased merchandise at the Post valued at twelve dollars and thirty-five cents. On another page it may be seen that Jonathan Zane, courageous frontiersman and one of the first settlers of Wheeling, paid six dollars for a bonnet, and three dollars and twenty-seven and one-half cents for a loaf of sugar. In addition to his versatility as a frontiersman Zane had acquired the clever quality of knowing how to please his wife.

Indians were frequent visitors at the Trading Post. Old General Roundhead, leading chief of Five Nations, made a very fearful impression on the people at Wheeling for it is explained, "This Indian is one of the most remarkable war-like looking men I ever beheld." Then the comment concerning Chief Captain Johnny was anything but favorable. It is written that Johnny had had a "dispute" with his wife and when they came to decide which should have possession of their only child the chief in a rage severed the body of the child so that each might have one-half. However, a much better report was given for General Mudeater, great warrior and chief of the Wyandots. After the Treaty of Greenville (1795) the General accepted in good faith the terms of the treaty made with the white men and he had now become an "extensive" farmer on the upper Ohio. The names of other Indians are written in the records but space forbids the relating of incidents concerning them.

With manifest interest one reads that Simon Kenton, Indian scout and frontiersman, traded at McClure's from October, 1804, till August of the following year. During that time he purchased goods valued at sixty-five dollars and forty-eight cents for which he paid in cash. Black Rachel, perhaps a slave, whose list of purchases is extensive, paid three dollars and fifty cents for five yards of

calico, ninety cents for a pair of cotton hose, and twenty-five cents for a pound of imperial tea.

Here we find evidence that the nail industry had started at Wheeling as early as 1804. In that year David Irwin, "nailor," was given credit for three dollars and eighteen cents for seventeen pounds of cutnails and three dollars for fifteen pounds of shingle nails. It is further seen that Thomas Johnson was the shoemaker in the settlement. For some pairs of shoes he was given two dollars while for others only one dollar and seventy-five cents.

The settlement, like many others of its kind, was quite self-sufficient. There was a master workman wherever he was needed. Moses Thomson was the tailor, Alexander McConnell kept the mill, and Thomas Mason was blacksmith. The business of tanning was established by William McConnell who settled his accounts by selling leather. William Downing made a specialty of distilling peach brandy.. In two months he sold one hundred sixty-seven dollars and ninety-nine cents worth of his product, yet his debt was more than three times the sum of his credit. Weaving was also a home industry that had an important place in trade. On October 6, 1806, Mrs. Sarah McClure took fifty-one yards of linsey to the Post for which she was given sixty cents a yard. Here one finds that linsey appears on the credit side of many accounts.

Now the making of hats was an interest that attracted the skill of several workmen. During October and November of 1806, Joseph McFadden was credited with thirty-three dollars and fifty cents for wool hats. John Kerr made a quality of hats that he sold for three dollars and ninety cents a dozen. However, his highest priced product was called a castor (beaver) hat for which he received six dollars each. For "town hats" he got four dollars.

In a way the professions of some of the people were used for their identification. Matthew Williams was known as "school master," while John Williams was called

the "Presbyterian." Both John Baird and John Rippey cared for the sick and wounded. Their names were prefixed with the familiar "Doctor." Alexander McCoy served as the minister, and must have made thorough preparations since it is recorded that he paid thirty-three dollars and twenty-eight cents for a "Scripturial Work."

The settlements must have been widely scattered for many persons were known in part by the places where they lived. It is stated that John Rice lived "near Hard Scrable," and William Giffin's home was "over the River." Robert Smith had built his home at "Turkeyfoot." Abraham Rolland came from West Liberty while Morgan Jones lived at Grave Creek, William Wells was on Middle Island Creek, and Robert Giffin had settled on Short Creek.

Mention has been made of certain articles that were brought to the Post so that exchange could be made for other goods. The list of the most common articles found on the credit side of the ledger is a matter of much interest. Those appearing most frequently are corn, oats, linen, linsey, butter, wheat, flour, Indian meal, whiskey, hats, shoes, hides, and barrels. On April 13, 1808, Archibald Wood delivered two hundred fifty empty barrels to the McClures for which he was given nine hundred thirty-seven dollars and fifty cents. Oats were about thirty cents a bushel while whiskey was sold for thirteen dollars and fifty cents a barrel.

So from leaf to leaf the record continues through more than two hundred pages, never once lacking in surprise or lagging in interest. The manners and the customs of the people living in those early years are brought to life again in a realistic way. All of this material is informative, and upon the leaves of this old ledger may be found many a key that unlocks the secrets of centuries.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

RIGHT (WRIGHT), BAZZELL (BAZZLE)
Service—Penn. Md. Va. No. 23580 No. S. 15966

Born in Prince George County, Maryland, 1764. Enlisted, September 3, 1779, Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland, and again at Fort Pitt, Pennsylvania, in May 1780. Served six months at Hagerstown under Captain William Lewis and Lieutenant Lane, followed by service at Fort Pitt in 1780 and also under Colonel Ebenezer Zane, chiefly serving as an Indian spy. Received pension in Lewis County, Virginia, in 1834, which was suspended the following year, with no evidence of reinstatement. Supporting data was filed by Jesse Tanner and Sam Hines.

RINEHART, THOMAS
Service—Maryland Va. No. 16212 No. S. 5986 and 16211 (Agency Book)

Born in Reading County, Pennsylvania, July, 1741; died, March 13, 1833, Preston County, Virginia. Enlisted, September 1776, in Washington County, Maryland, and served under Captains Klapsadler and Lynne in the Maryland militia under Colonel Shrycock on guard duty at Fort Washington, Fort Lee, and Fort Frederick. After the Revolution, Rinehart came to Monongalia County, in 1798, in the region later included in Preston County. He received pension in 1833, but was dropped from the rolls in 1835. Supporting data was submitted by Adam Shaffer and Jacob Startzeman.

ROACH, JONATHAN
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12149 and 11059 No. W. 3870

Born, Rockingham County, Virginia, 1761; died, June 14, 1832, Monroe County, Virginia. Enlisted in Orange County, Virginia, February, 1779, under Lieutenant John Goodall, and served as guard for the prisoners captured with General Burgoyne at Saratoga. Served two years

and nearly four months under Captain Madison, Major John Roberts and Colonel Taylor, and was discharged by Colonel Taylor in May, 1781. Gave his discharge to Nathaniel Mills with his claim to any bounty land. Later in 1781, substituted for James Craig in the Rockingham County militia under Captain Smith, Major Long, and Colonel Samuel Lewis. Marched through Charlottesville, Richmond, Williamsburg, to Yorktown where he was discharged eight days before Cornwallis surrendered.

Christian Peters, Jacob Meadows and Mathew Meadows certified that each of them had seen Roach in service during the Revolutionary War. Other data was filed in his behalf by Benjamin Holstead and Matt Maddy. The soldier married Ruth Meadows in October, 1782, and to them were born twelve children, but names are not given. Roach received pension, April 1, 1833, in Monroe County, Virginia, and his widow was granted pension in 1848.

ROBARDS (ROBERTS), ARCHIBALD

Service—Maryland Va. No. 16555 No. W. 5737 and B. L. Wt. 11395

Born, Frederick County, Maryland, 1763; died, Hardy County, Virginia, April 18, 1836. The record of his marriage, July 24, 1787, to Mary Ann Basley, is filed in Frederick County.

Enlisted in Maryland, December 1776, and served nearly twelve months under Captains Boyer, Gaithers, Hoff, and Masters in a Maryland regiment commanded by Colonel Bruce and General Smallwood. First substituted for Jacob Kerns for six months, after which he served several short terms as guard and at barracks. Mentions Lieutenant Jeffrey Magruder, and Captain Boyd. He received pension in Hardy County, Virginia, in 1832. His widow also received pension. Supporting affidavits were filed by Charles Turley, Joseph Walker, and Thomas Borgess.

ROBERTS, ISAAC

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23912 No. S. 19453

Born, Mecklenburg County, Virginia, December 2, 1760, son of Thomas Roberts. Served several periods of enlistment between 1780 and 1783 as a private in the company commanded by Captain Binns Jones in the Fourth Virginia Militia under Colonel Lucas and General Gates. Took part in the battle of Camden, South Carolina. A discharge was given Roberts by Major Anderson at Boyds Ferry, where he appears to have been a munition stores' guard.

Among the officers mentioned in his pension application are Colonel Thomas McCallister, Major Davis' Hudson, Captain Elijah Graves, John Morris, Joseph Hudson, W. H. Morris, Stephen Spurlock, and Andrew Barrett. Pension granted soldier in Cabell County, Virginia, in 1834. Name of wife, Rebecca. A brother, Thomas Roberts, is mentioned.

ROBERTS, JAMES

Enlisted in Captain Stephenson's company as a private in 1775. Enlisted under Captain Shepherd in 1776. He was an armorer and after the

battle of Fort Washington, which almost wiped out this company, he was discharged, December 6, 1777. His home was near Shepherdstown.

ROBERTS, RICHARD
Service—Virginia Va. No. 15053 No. S. 39052

Born in Virginia in 1756; died, January 30, 1830, in Brooke County, Virginia. Enlisted January 26, 1776, Culpepper County, Virginia, as a private with Lieutenant Henry Field under Captain George Slaughter in the Eighth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Bowman and Colonel Muhlenberg. His regiment marched to join the northern army and provided reinforcements for its troops. Largely occupied with camp and guard duty. Received honorable discharge, February 4, 1778, from General Scott at Valley Forge.

Pension was granted in Brooke County, Virginia, upon application of April 27, 1818. At this time his wife was 65 years old, and their children given as a son, 27, a daughter 22, another daughter 31, and a granddaughter, 11 years old.

ROBERTS, THOMAS
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23093 No. W. 5738

Born, December 22, 1762, in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, the son of Thomas Roberts; died, March 13, 1848. Married, December 23, 1788, in Charlotte County, Virginia by the Rev. Thomas Roberts to Nancy May. Enlisted in Mecklenburg County, in 1780, as a substitute for Jacob Watson and Thomas Roberts. Served as a private under Captain William Lucas in the Virginia militia under Colonel Mumford and General Green. Took part in the battle of Guilford Courthouse, and was on marches to the Roanoke and Dan Rivers.

Applied for pension in Cabell County, Virginia, which was granted in 1833. The widow received pension in 1849 and died, July 20, 1852. Among members of the family named, besides his father, are Isaac Roberts, a brother, and Oney Roberts, possibly a sister. Supporting data was filed by Thomas McCallister, Allen Rice, and James Brown.

ROBINSON, BENJAMIN (Colonel)

Born, July 7, 1758, in Virginia, a son of William Robinson, a pioneer settler on Robinson's Run, Eagle District, for whom that stream was named. While a resident of Carolina County, Virginia, he raised a company of Minute Men in the Revolutionary War and fought under Sergeant Boyle, Captains Jones and Harris, Colonel William Washington, and Colonel Alexander Spottswood. He was promoted to the rank of colonel in 1776 and was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He applied for a pension, December 24, 1832, in Harrison County, Virginia, which was granted.

He settled on 400 acres of land near Lumberport, established mills and floated lumber down the streams to Pittsburgh markets. He continued to be active in border affairs and in 1785 led the chase after the Indians who had massacred Thomas Cunningham. He was sheriff of Harrison County in 1794 and died in 1833.

His first wife was Magdalene Webb; born May, 1781; died, August 20, 1784. She was the daughter of William Webb; born, June 11, 1700; died, February 1, 1778; and Mary Margaret Webb; born, November 25, 1712; died November 11, 1781. Their children were Elizabeth; born, August 10, 1782; died, August 20, 1855. She married Henry Coffman, son of Jacob Coffman. Felix, born March 31, 1784; died, September 9, 1853, who married Elizabeth Wood.

The second wife of Colonel Robinson was Mrs. Mary Assom Wilkinson, widow of J. Wilkinson. She was born, April 8, 1757; died October 29, 1823. Their children were: David, born, 1786; died, 1853; married Sarah, daughter of David Wamsley. Margaret, born, 1787, and married Colonel John Sommerville, 1805. Magdaline, born, 1788; died, 1814; married John Boggess, 1805. Mary Elizabeth, born, 1791; died, 1864; married Dr. Caleb Boggess, 1817. Benjamin, born, 1792; died, 1818; married Nancy Webb. John; born, 1794; married daughter of David Wamsley. Malinda, born, 1797; died, 1823; married George W. Boggess. Susannah, born, 1795; married Albertus Boggess. William Marshall, born, 1788; married Emaline Francis or Stringer, 1823.

ROBINSON, ISAAC (Sergeant)

Before the Mason County, Virginia, court, December 3, 1832, appeared Isaac Robinson, aged 78, who made the following statement: born, December, 1754, in Virginia near the North Carolina line; captured at age of five by Shawnee Indians with whom he remained seven or eight years. Bearing marks on ear and nose of Indian tortures, he was surrendered at Fort Duquesne and restored to his parents in Botetourt County in 1781.

The following January, he volunteered in a company of infantry commanded by Henry Paulding and Lieutenant Graham. Served as an orderly sergeant, marched to Bedford, joined General Greene at Guilford, and was with Lee's Light Horse on the day of the battle. Became ill and was discharged. Hired William Shelton as a substitute in the Yorktown campaign. Moved west after the Yorktown campaign and served as a spy until Wayne's treaty. Settled in Robinson District, Mason County, Virginia, and there built Fort Robinson, as defense against the Indians.

ROBINSON, JAMES

Service—Conn., Md., N. J. and Penna. Va. No. 12742 No. S. 7432

Enlisted, Frederick County, Maryland, and New Jersey, spring of 1776, and July, 1778, and served fourteen months under Captains Cresap and Brady in the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonels Hall and Durkee. Received pension, aged 85, in 1833, while living in Harrison County. His claim was supported by Joshua Hawkins and William McCree.

ROBINSON, JOHN (Sergeant)

Service—Penna. Va. No. 10841 No. S. 39055

Enlisted, December 1776, and remained in service until 1780. First service was under Captain Henry McKinley and Colonel William Cook in

the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment, as sergeant and quartermaster; then in the Second Regiment under Brigadier General Conaway as conductor of military stores; and with the Third Regiment, under Captain William Craigs and Colonel Thomas Craig as quartermaster sergeant.

Pension was granted to the soldier, May 20, 1819, in Hampshire County. At that time he was 70 years old, his wife, Margaret, 62, and their children as follows: Catherine, 20; Nelson, 13; Elizabeth, 12.

ROBINSON (ROBESON), JOHN
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12135 No. S. 6017

Born in Augusta County, Virginia, March 15, 1758; and was dead when his pension certificate was issued in 1833. He enlisted in Monroe or Greenbrier County, Virginia, and served in 1776 and in 1780 under Captains Thomas Wright and John Wood in Virginia regiments, commanded by Majors James Hamilton and Andrew Anderson, and Colonel Armstrong. His service was against the Indians on the Kanawha, New and Cumberland Rivers.

Among his comrades who are mentioned, James Alton, Swift Berry, and Edward Cornwell were dead; William Butcher had moved to Kentucky; James and John Shaver, and William McCarley had gone away. His claim was supported by the Rev. James Christy, John Hutchinson, and Robert Christy. Pension certificate was issued in Monroe County, April 1, 1833.

RODGERS, ABRAHAM
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16171 No. S. 6026

Born, October 17, 1760, Queen Anne County, Maryland, but was living in Brooke County, Virginia, when drafted into service in October, 1776 at the age of 16 years. He was under Ensign George Cox and Captain Isaac Cox at Holliday's Cove while protecting the frontier against Indian depredations. In May, 1777, again volunteered and served more than fifteen months in the company of Captain Ogle under Colonel Shepherd, and under Captain Sam Brady, Captain Benjamin Bigg, Colonels Gibson, Brodhead, and other officers on the Ohio frontier.

Pension was granted for his military services, 1833, in Brooke County. His claims were supported by General Cox, Jeremiah Browning, W. McCluney, and William Baxter.

RODGERS, RHODAM
Service—Virginia Va. No. 2132 No. S. 6021

Born, Fairfax County, Virginia, in 1756; died Harrison County, Virginia, 1861. In 1777, he volunteered in the Revolutionary service from Fairfax County, under Captain Dennis Ramsey, marched to Alexandria, where he was transferred to the regiment of Colonel William Renley (Ronney or Romney); marched to White Plains, New York, thence to Germantown, served three or four months, and was discharged by Brigadier General Charles Scott. In August, 1780, again volunteered under Captain William Mason, Lieutenant James Nesbitt, and under Colonel Com-

ney Lucas marched to Fredricksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, Cheraw Hills, and to Pittsylvania Courthouse where he was again discharged. While at Cheraw Hills, he was engaged in a skirmish during which he was wounded in the face by a bayonet which broke the jaw bone, and was also wounded in the hand. The British party of thirty or forty was captured.

Received pension while living in Harrison County, Virginia, in 1832 which was amended in 1835.

ROE, JOHN

John Roe, aged 61, made affidavit before the Harrison County, Virginia, court that he had enlisted for service in the Revolutionary War in 1779 in the Third Jersey Regiment, Colonel Dayton, in company under Captain Richard Cox in the Jersey Line in Maxwell's Brigade. Pension was granted upon application dated May 18, 1818. Soldier and wife were both aged 55.

ROGERS, DAVID (Colonel)

The State of Virginia by executive order, February 6, 1851, allowed the heirs of David Rogers land bounty for his services as a colonel in the state line from June, 1778, to the end of the war. His will is filed in Hampshire County, West Virginia.

Rogers was a native of Ireland, who emigrated to America, first settled as a merchant at Old Town, Maryland, and in 1775 made a settlement five miles above Wheeling on the Ohio. In December, 1776, while a major of militia and a representative of West Augusta in the senate of Virginia, he was made a captain in a Virginia regiment, but did not qualify. In February, 1777, he was ordered to station fifty men at Wheeling and at the mouth of the Little Kanawha to guard these posts and neighboring settlements. When Ohio County, Virginia, was organized, he became county lieutenant, March 4, 1777. He later married the widow of Captain Michael Cresap and settled on the Potomac in Hampshire County, Virginia, opposite Old Town, and was succeeded as Ohio County's military officer by Colonel David Shepherd.

Early in 1778, he was chosen a special envoy from Governor Henry to Bernado de Galvaez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana. On his return from New Orleans, his party was attacked by the Indians above the mouth of the Licking, and all but thirteen were captured or killed. Simon Girty later boasted that he killed Rogers himself.

ROLLINS (RAWLINGS), MOSES

Service—Virginia Va. No. 5973 No. W. 10241 and B. L. Wt. 339 and 449

Enlisted, October 5, 1780, in Culpepper County, Virginia, under the command of Captain Smith and was attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Buford in the Virginia Line. Served until the end of the war. In the battle of Guilford Courthouse, he received a wound and from other infirmities incident to his Revolutionary service, both legs were amputated below the knees.

Married Nancy Cave, of Ritchie County, Virginia, December 5, 1814. In 1820, the soldier was 57 years old, his wife 25. Their children were Henry, Jeremiah, Sally, Edward, and Rebecca. Soldier received pension in Harrison County, Virginia, 1819, and died February 4, 1856. His widow received pension in 1857. Apparently two bounty land warrants were issued, one for sixty acres and one for one hundred acres. Supporting data was filed by Sam Washington, J. B. Tyson, Benjamin Taylor, Richard Cross, M. McKenney, Zedidiah Goff, F. Bunnett, Abraham Smith, Thomas West, and Amos Culp.

ROMINE, JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 1247 No. S. 6008

Served as a private for six months under Captain T. Carson in unit commanded by Colonel Merriweather. Applied for pension in Harrison County, Virginia, which was issued in 1833, but apparently dropped in 1835 and not reinstated.

RONEMOUS, ANDREW, CONRAD, and LEWIS

These three brothers were members of the bodyguard of General Gates. Their family was one of the earliest to settle in that part of Berkeley County which is now included in Jefferson County, West Virginia.

State History as Featured by the Press

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